Daily Report

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Greek Prime Minister Opens Conference on Bosnia

NC0105195093 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1803 GMT 1 May 93

[Speech by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis at the opening of the Athens conference on the Bosnian crisis—live]

[Text] Your Excellencies: I welcome you all to our homeland. The Greek Government, conscious of these crucial times, offered to host this conference in Athens and hopes that this meeting will go down in history as a conference for peace.

The people of my generation—the generation of World War II and of the Greek civil war—experienced the terror of war at an early age, and we learned early on to appreciate the virtue of peace—a virtue whose absence today painfully and tragically reminds us of the thousands of deaths in the relentless war in former Yugoslavia. Millions of these people have suffered personal tragedies and incalculable material losses. The living memories of war stress the responsibility of all those who are here today, because the Athens meeting is one of the last, perhaps the very last, chance for peace. If the Athens conference fails, we will be led even closer to international complications. We do not know where these might lead, and the consequences will be tragic not only for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia, but most probably for the southern Balkans.

From the first moment, Greece waged the struggle toward finding a peaceful solution to the problem of former Yugoslavia. We supported and continue to support wholeheartedly the Geneva conference under the cochairmanship of Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen. We welcome the presence of the new cochairman, Thorvald Stolternberg, and we are glad because today we are offering our help, at least to the extent we can, to the efforts for a diplomatic solution. Peace must be the firm goal of all of us; of all the Balkan countries.

Therefore, I would like, in speaking from this podium to all our neighbors in former Yugoslavia, to make an appeal for peace. I know the difficulties that today's negotiations will encounter. I know the disagreements, the fears, the bitterness accumulated during the war. I know that the wounds that have been opened will take many years to heal. I know that many times peace, more than war, demands from political leaders boldness and courage, and I hope with all my heart that all the leaders here today will find the strength within their souls to make the Athens conference the first landmark in the course that will lead to the end of the Bosnia-Herzegovina drama. I hope that the first ray of light for the troubled Balkans will radiate from here in Athens.

Our vision for the Balkans is that they succeed in following the road toward a united Europe. Greece is the only country in the region today lucky enough to belong to Europe, which is being united. Greece extends its hands to all its neighbors to help them walk on the same path. Our future lies in peaceful coexistence, creative cooperation, and seeking the visions and hopes that unite the people. The miracle of Europe after World War II is that different people separated by centuries of war and major racial and religious differences have learned to live and progress side by side; they have learned to cooperate and respect each other's history and identity, and now they are heading toward unity. In this lies Europe's strength and true wealth and the strength and true wealth of the future Balkans. Today the eyes of the entire world are turned toward Athens. The hours to follow will determine the future of all of us and the future of dozens of millions of people who inhabit our peninsula. I hope and pray that the message from Athens to the suffering people of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a joyful one. I hope and pray that the Athens conference will give peace a chance. Thank you.

Radovan Karadzic Signs Vance-Owen Plan

NC0205105493 Paris AFP in English 1029 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Vouliagmeni, Greece, May 2 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic has given his "final agreement" to an international peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis announced here Sunday.

But Karadzic said in a declaration to Yugoslav reporters that his signature on the plan was conditional on its acceptance by the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament, which last week firmly rejected the plan.

The assembly is due to meet again Wednesday.

"Conscience has prevailed. Peace has won," Mitsotakis said in a statement on the second day of a summit here between all parties to the Bosnian conflict.

Mitsotakis said the agreement was signed by Karadzic and international mediators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance.

The Bosnian Serbs had been the only belligerent still to sign the Vance-Owen plan, which would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 autonomous provinces.

The proposal has been approved by the republic's Muslim and Croatian communities.

Greek and U.N. officials said the Bosnian Serbs agreed to the Vance-Owen plan under intense pressure from their allies in Serbia and the rump Yugoslav republic.

Mitsotakis, in a statement read by his spokesman, expressed his "deep satisfaction for the final agreement for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina achieved today in Athens."

Bosnian Serb Ratification Awaited

LD0205150093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1354 GMT 2 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Athens, May 2 (TANJUG)—The two-day meeting in Athens ended today after Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen plan, but his signature will be null and void if it is not ratified by the parliament of Bosnian Serbs on May 5, after which the plan should be implemented.

Co-Chairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance and the Athens conference host Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis on Sunday applauded as a courageous decision that of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to sign the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Karadzic's decision came after a brief plenary session which was followed by an official lunch.

Although Karadzic conditioned his signature with approval of the Bosnian Serb Parliament at its session on May 5, "we have got what we really wanted. Signatures on the plan," Lord Owen said.

The Vance-Owen plan should now be implemented and the United Nations (U.N.) Security Council is expected very soon to adopt the necessary decisions, the co-chairmen said.

Peace troops are to be sent to supervise the cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and establish power. They will most probably be from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and Lord Owen indicated the possibility that American ground forces might also arrive.

The conference co-chairmen said in Athens that the most important thing now was for normal life to be restored and for everything that was destroyed to be rebuilt so that people could live as they did before the war in Bosnia which has been underway for over a year.

The leaders of the three warring sides in Bosnia—Moslems, Serbs and Croats, and Presidents Dobrica Cosic of Yugoslavia and Slobodan Milosevic of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Momir Bulatovic of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro, and President of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman took part in the Athens conference.

The conference was also attended by special U.S. and Russian envoys in the talks for resolving the Bosnian crisis Reginald Bartholomew and Vitaliy Churkin and UNPROFOR Commander Lars-Eric Wahlgren.

"It is time to set aside talk of military options...it is a time to talk of peace and not of war," Lord Owen told reporters.

Asked to comment the impact of today's signing of the peace plan by Bosnian Serbs on sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Lord Owen said that this depended on the U.N. Security Council and the governments of the individual countries. He added that the improvement of the situation in Bosnia was a condition for the gradual lifting of the sanctions. He said he hoped that the situation would now improve.

"This is a happy day" for the Balkans and all the peoples of Bosnia-Herzegovina and former Yugoslavia, said Lord Owen. He said that he expected the improvement regarding Bosnia would also affect Croat-Serb relations on the whole, the resolving of problems in Serbia's Kosovo province, and relations in the entire region towards a renewal of peace and friendship.

Izetbegovic Comments on Plan

LD0205140293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Athens, 2 May (TANJUG)—Leader of Bosnian Muslims Alija Izetbegovic stated at a news conference in Athens today that "the third side today signed the Vance-Owen plan, by which the self-styled Serb Republic abolished itself."

"That is a great political victory for the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina," Izetbegovic said stressing that "an immediate cease-fire is the right test of the value of the signature" which Karadzic put on the document. Izetbegovic also said that "today, while this conference is in progress, an offensive by chetnik Serb forces along the frontline between Olovo and Brcko is under way; in heavy shelling of Sarajevo alone eight people were killed and 20 civilians wounded yesterday."

Izetbegovic said that now when the plan has been accepted he expected "the international community led by the United States to do everything to implement the plan without fail and procrastination."

As the most important of Lord Owen's explanations which led to the signing of the document, Izetbegovic singled out the one regarding the northern corridor for which he said: "It is not a territorial corridor but a road under UN Protection Force control. This does not represent a substantial change to the plan," he added and stressed that "it is important that weapons and soldiers cannot be transported through there."

Izetbegovic said that he accepted the north corridor solution under the condition that "the same conditions apply to the Jajce-Bihac road in the Banjaluka province where the situation is identical."

Jovanovic Views Signing of Plan

AU0205125193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 2 May 93

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by an unidentified correspondent in Athens on 2 May—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Jovanovic, what would you first like to say about the signing of the Vance-Owen plan by the delegation of the Serbian republic, that is, President Radovan Karadzic.

[Jovanovic] Although the plan was signed under the condition that the parliament of the Serbian republic approves it in three days' time, one could say that this signature is an exceptional political event that has relaxed the general atmosphere here and in Bosnia and Yugoslavia as well in an almost magical and [word indistinct] way. In the psychological sense, it represents a turnabout that will facilitate in the days ahead a much more favorable, desirable, and positive shift in the settlement of the general Yugoslav crisis, provided that the parliament of the Serbian republic endorses the signing and thus the settlement of the problems that Yugoslavia faces because of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Correspondent] Mr. Jovanovic, does this mean that the minimum demands of the Serbian side that were discussed in the previous talks have been met?

[Jovanovic] They have been met in the sense of offering clarifications [razjasnjenje], which, regarding the Bosnian Serbs and Yugoslavia, were assessed as sufficient for signing the plan at this moment and starting an accelerated and substantive peace process, which will also include a (?sensible) settlement of the outstanding issues. The mechanism of the peace plan envisages different (?institutions), including border commissions and direct talks that will facilitate direct [words indistinct] in the atmosphere that is not characterized by war, in the atmosphere in which the cease-fire agreement is observed and peace plan implemented.

One must not forget that it is not only the Bosnian Serbs but also two other Bosnian sides that want to change, exchange, improve some things regarding the maps or other adjustments to the (?new) situation.

Karadzic, Owen, Milosevic Comment

NC0205184193 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1820 GMT 2 May 93

[Statements to correspondent Angeliki Angelopoulou by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, EC envoy Lord David Owen, and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at the Astir Hotel in Vouliagmeni on 2 May after the signing of the agreement on Bosnia—recorded; in English with Greek subtitles]

[Text] [Karadzic] Well, we got some clarifications, and we saw some opportunities to continue during peace time to achieve our own objectives. That is why we have decided to put a [word indistinct] until our assembly decides finally whether we accept it or not. The parliament is... [pauses] They have to approve it or not. I hope they are going to approve it.

[Owen] Well, I am obviously delighted and it is a very important decision, and I hope it is the start of an irreversible process of peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that it spreads over to get real peace between Serbia and Croatia, and it helps us to solve the problems of Kosovo in Serbia and relations between your country and Skopje, and the Macedonians and Greeks can resume friendly relations, and that generally all the problems of the former Yugoslavia can be put behind us. Of course, as the European Community representative on the conference and cochairman, I am particularly grateful to the [Greek] prime minister, particularly pleased that it should have taken place in a European capital, but particularly in Athens. I think it would have been hard to get the right atmosphere in Geneva on this occasion. It was right that it was held here in the Balkans region. The [Greek] prime minister played a very important role. He was not just a host, he was a politician and played a very persuasive and impressive role behind the scenes.

[Milosevic] It is a very important and crucial decision, a key decision for a peace in Balkans. And I want to say that all of us are grateful to Greece, to people of Greece, and to government and Prime Minister Mitsotakis for helping us in reaching those aims. Thank you very much.

[Angelopoulou] Just a moment, please. Do you believe that Serbian parliament in Bosnia will accept this decision?

[Milosevic] I believe so, because of the fact that I do not believe that Serbian parliament in Bosnia will decide anything which against interest of Serbian people, and peace is a main interest of Serbs and main interest of Serbs in Bosnia. No doubt they have all reasons to support that decision. It is honest peace, just peace, and Serbs regain their status of constituent people which is authorized to decide on an equal basis by consensus, and safety of people is assured. Have in mind that even outside Serbian provinces there will not be allowed to armies of their enemy to get on the territories with Serbian inhabitants, but is crucial moment and all other problems can be solved through negotiating mechanism of plan, and I hope with no doubt they will support plan.

[Angelopoulou] And about the blockade. Do you accept, expect that the United Nations after this agreement in Athens, do you expect it to make a new decision?

[Milosevic] Any how, sanctions were not just from the very beginning, but now even those who do not like our interest to be supported will not have basis to continue implementation of sanctions. I hope that it will very clear that sanctions will be lifted. I hope so. It is in the interest of our country, but as well for interest of our neighbors, including Greece, of course. All the best to you.

NATO Chief on Peace Accord

AU0205165993 Paris AFP in English 1641 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Brussels, May 2 (AFP)—NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner Sunday [2 May] welcomed the Bosnian Serbs' signing of an international peace plan but said the proof that they wanted peace would be an end to the fighting.

In a statement, Woerner called Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic's signing of the peace accord a "hopeful sign."

"On the other hand, after all the experience of the past, deeds will be decisive, so we are looking for a concrete follow-up, and we expect to see an end to the aggression end ethnic cleansing," Woerner said.

NATO Troops Standing By To Implement Plan

LD0205103093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0811 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Athens, May 2 (TANJUG)—No arrangement for the implementation of the Vance/Owen peace package for war-torn Bosnia has been made public, although one has been worked out and NATO is waiting for the word from the U.N. secretary-general, said Fred Eckhard, the spokesman for co-chairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

In answer to a question from TANJUG [words indistinct] correspondent at a press briefing held at midnight on Saturday, Eckhard said NATO troops could be deployed quickly.

When the Vance/Owen plan has been signed, the U.N. secretary-general will report to the Security Council and submit for approval the arrangement for its implementation, and then the General Assembly will have to approve a budget for the operation.

A two-day summit on peace for Bosnia opened in Athens earlier on Saturday. The summit is attended by the leaders of Bosnia's three warring nations, the presidents of Yugoslavia and its federal units Serbia and Montenegro, the Croatian president, the co-chairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, the special U.S. and Russian envoys on Bosnia and the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia.

Eckhard said the U.N. secretary-general expected UNPROFOR, which numbers eight thousand troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to remain in situ to implement the plan.

As for new troops, NATO is a big and well developed military organisation and can put forth a force for the implementation of the plan faster than the U.N. could do in the past, said Eckhard.

The Athens summit has been convened in an effort to find a way for Bosnian Serbs to sign the remaining two of the four documents of the Vance/Owen peace package, which Bosnia's Moslems and Croats have already signed.

Karadzic 'Finished' as Bosnian Serb Leader

AU0205150993 Paris AFP in English 1407 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Vouliagmeni, Greece, May 2 (AFP)—Radovan Karadzic is finished as leader of the Bosnian Serbs now that he has signed a peace plan which the self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament has rejected and will probably spurn again, an aide to Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic said.

Karadzic "has signed his own death warrant," the official, Dragoslav Rancic, told reporters.

Karadzic signed the international peace plan Saturday at a summit here under growing pressure from his Yugoslav allies, including Cosic, and the threat of U.S. military intervention.

But he made his signature conditional on approval by the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament which last week flatly rejected the peace plan. The assembly is due to meet again Wednesday [5 May] to reconsider the plan.

The accord, sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community, would require the Serbs to give back much of the land they have seized in 13 months of war and renounce hopes of creating a Greater Serbia by linking Serb-held territory with Serbia itself.

Rancic said he believed Karadzic was washed up as a politician and that his physical safety might even be in danger when he meets with the parliament this week.

Asked if Karadzic made any comment when he signed the peace plan, Rancic said: "What do you want a condemned man to say?"

Greek sources said Karadzic had a heated argument Saturday night with the speaker of the Bosnian Serb parliament, Momcilo Krajisnik, on whether to accept the peace plan.

FRY Foreign Minister on Easing of Sanctions

LD0205145393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1403 GMT 2 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Athens, May 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic indicated in Athens on Sunday that Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen were ready to urge gradual easing of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia as soon as their peace plan on Bosnia-Herzegovina is accepted and began to be implemented.

Jovanovic told reporters that a political change took place at the Athens conference following the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic's conditional signing of the Vance-Owen plan and that he is confident that things began moving towards peace.

Jovanovic also said that the Bosnian Serbs were "met halfway by giving explanations which were assessed as sufficient for the beginning of the implementation of the peace plan. [no closing quotation mark as received]

In a special statement to TANJUG, Jovanovic said that difficulties were possible at the Bosnian Serb parliament session, scheduled for May 5, when parliament will discuss the signing of the plan. Jovanovic said he hoped that "reasons presented in Athens will be understood well" and that "Bosnian Serb parliament will hold its session in three days, which is a long time in politics."

Jovanovic also said that beside the Bosnian Serb Republic leadership, members of the Yugoslav, Serbian and Montenegrin leaderships will also be available to the "Bosnian Serb parliament for further explanation, which should make their decision making easier. [no closing quotation mark as received]

WEU Offers To Help With Vance-Owen Plan

AU0205193093 Paris AFP in English 1916 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] The Hague, May 2 (AFP)—The Western European Union [WEU] Sunday offered to play a key role in implementing the Vance-Owen peace plan, which was conditionally signed by the Bosnian Serbs in Athens earlier in the day. In particular, the organization's Secretary General Wim van Eekelen said forces of the European defense alliance could be used to bring peace to the Sarajevo district established as one of 10 semi-autonomous regions under the plan.

"The plan defines 10 districts, including one for Sarajevo... We would be ready... to take responsibility for this area," he said in an interview on Dutch television. "It is a difficult district with a mixed population, but crucial," he said, adding "if we, Western Europe, can bring peace to this area, with about 15,000 men, we could play a key role in implementing the peace plan." He said the WEU—which currently has 8,000 troops in the former Yugoslavia—could double that number in order to help implement the Vance-Owen plan. "I think most member states have made preparations... I am sure that we could double that capacity." He said the main task was to neutralise heavy weapons which have been bombarding Sarajevo and other Moslem-held areas. "If we concentrate on places with artillery formations, we can achieve that relatively quickly," he said.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic Sunday signed the Vance-Owen peace plan in the Greek capital Athens, on condition that the self-declared Bosnian Serb parliament agrees to it. The parliament is due to discuss the issue on Wednesday.

Foreign Governments Welcome Bosnian Peace Plan

LD0205173293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 2 (TANJUG)—The initial foreign reactions to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic's decision to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina are that this is the first step towards peace in the former Yugoslav republic but not enough to truly restore peace.

At the Athens conference devoted to the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen plan at around noon Sunday on condition that the Bosnian Serb parliament endorse it at its May 5 session.

U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher hailed Karadzic's signature but said the Serbs would have to follow up with concrete action. "...it will take more than a signature on a peace plan to convince the international community that the Bosnian Serbs are serious and acting in good faith. It will take deeds and concrete actions", REUTERS carried a statement which Christopher handed out to journalists in London.

Christopher on Sunday arrived in London, the first leg of his European tour, including France, Russia, Germany and Brussels, where he will talk with NATO and European Community officials.

In a written statement issued by State Department spokesman Richard Boucher, Christopher said he would go on with his tour to consult U.S. allies on a military action aimed at forcing the Serbs to end the war in Bosnia, as is envisaged in the plan for tough action U.S. President Clinton decided on Saturday.

Great Britain applauded Karadzic's signature and said the move would have to be followed up by action on the ground.

Its good news as far as it goes, the Foreign Office said in its communique and added that the Bosnian Serb parliament was to ratify the plan, but that emphasis must be on what is happening on the ground and that all sides must implement the plan.

Official Paris succinctly said that Karadzic's signature was "promising hope". French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe is particularly satisfied because he had constantly asked the E.C. to persist in its endeavors to persuade Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to influence the Bosnian Serbs to accept the plan.

Moscow has not officially reacted to the acceptance of the plan yet. Those close to official circles, however, were relieved by the news from Athens since Russia has intermittently stressed that the Vance-Owen plan is the only way to restore peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Unofficial Moscow sources say it is still too early to hope that the internatinal community will change its stand on

Yugoslavia. They say the world community will probably not rush to lift the sanctions, but will wait to see whether the Serbs will translate words into action.

Agreement Should 'Silence' U.S. Intervention Call

NC0205154693 Paris AFP in English 1445 GMT 2 May 93

[Excerpts] Vouliagmeni, Greece, May 2 (AFP) - The Bosnian Serbs' signing of an international peace plan Sunday should silence U.S. threats of military intervention, mediators Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance said.

"The time has come to set aside military options," Owen said, expressing his personal conviction that Bosnian Serb leaders would honor the peace agreement despite numerous past failures to end the war.

"Now is time to talk of peace and not war," the EC representative said, referring to the European tour begun earlier in the day by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to drum up support for U.S. contingency plans to use military action against Bosnia's Serbs. [passage omitted]

Owen and his UN counterpart Cyrus Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state, expressed confidence that Karadzic would receive the approval of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament when it meets Wednesday and would respect the peace plan.

"I personally don't expect failure," Vance told a press conference which marked the formal end of his role as a peace mediator for the former Yugoslavia.

He is due to retire next week as UN peace mediator and will be replaced by former Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg, who also attended the summit of Bosnian, Croatian and Yugoslav leaders here this weekend.

But Owen did call on Washington to commit troops to the expanded force of UN peacekeepers which will be needed to implement the peace accord, calling the peacekeeping operation "one of the most complex facing us."

He forecast that the operation would probably require fewer than the 70,000 troops mentioned earlier, but said it would nevertheless involve a "substantial" force that should for the first time in Bosnia include American soldiers.

He said that more important than threats of further violence was to "set in motion a process of healing" that can restore confidence between Croats, Muslims and Serbs after a year of war, atrocities and hatred.

Croatian Leaders, U.S. Envoy Depart Athens

NC0205141893 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1215 GMT 2 May 93

[Report by ET-1 correspondent Nikolaos Grillakis from Athens Airport—live]

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman departed at 1400 [1100 GMT] today and Bosnian Croatian leader Mate Boban 30 minutes later from Athens Airport's East Terminal. Reginald Bartholomew, U.S. President Clinton's special envoy, departed Athens at 1450 today.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic will leave at 1900 today. At approximately the same time, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic and UN special mediator Lord David Owen will leave for London to meet with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and brief him on the Athens agreement. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic is scheduled to leave at 2000 today and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic at 2100.

Serbian, Yugoslav Presidents Depart

NC0205160693 Athens ET-1 Television Network in 1515 GMT 2 May 93

[Report by correspondent Nikolaos Grillakis from Athens Airport—live]

[Excerpt] I believe that we now have taken a big step toward ending this tragedy, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said and expressed his warm thanks to Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis. Milosevic departed together with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic at 1740 [1440 GMT] today from Athens Airport's East Terminal. [passage omitted]

Zhulali, Macedonian Minister Agree on Cooperation

AU3004193293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] At the end of the visit of the Macedonian military delegation to our country and after holding several talks, the respective defense ministers, Safet Zhulali and Vlado Popovski, decided on the following:

The two sides agreed that strengthening relations between our two armies will positively influence the creation of a climate of understanding and reciprocal trust between our two friendly neighboring countries.

The two sides agreed that the stabilization of the border regime should serve to bind the two peoples and countries closer together. For this reason, they stressed the need to make bilateral efforts to liberalize further the system of passports and visas to the extent of fully abolishing the fee for obtaining visas. This would enable more citizens from our two countries to cross the border.

Both ministers stressed that the military cooperation between our states is directed against no other state. On the contrary, this cooperation will be an expression of understanding, security, and peace in the region and beyond.

Both ministers agreed in welcoming the international community's efforts to halt regional confrontation and prevent the spread of conflict to the south. The talks held between the working groups led respectively by General Major Agim Baruti, deputy chief of the Army General Staff, and Colonel General (Drago Liobojnov), chief of the Macedonian General Staff, were successful.

President Sali Berisha, Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi, Assembly Deputy Chairman Tomorr Malasi, and others attended special receptions for the military delegation led by Mr. Popovski. During their stay in our country, the delegation became acquainted with the work being done to carry out successful reforms in the Army. The delegation made visits and held talks with military officials and leading cadres in the divisions of Elbasan, Berat, Tirana, and Pogradec.

Shehi Interviewed on 'Organized' Emigration

AU0105170893 Tirana ATA in English 1013 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Tirana, May 1 (ATA)—In an interview the Minister of Labour and Emigration of Albania Dashamir Shehi has had with the newspaper PASQYRA he stresses that "in a seven month period, from June 1 up to the end of 1992, organized emigration has reached the number of 1,070 people. This emigration has been realised in five states: Italy, Germany, Croatia, Austria, and Switzerland."

"Our desire and project," he continues, "are for a massive and organized emigration. So far we have had greater possibilities to realize emigration in Italy, and our objective until the end of 1993 is to have there 1,500-2,000 people employed, in Germany 500-1,000, and in other countries 300-500 people. We hope to reach an agreement of seasonal employment with Italy between the two ministries of labour. In the latest meeting in Sarande, the Greek Vice Foreign Minister Tsouderou agreed on an agreement of seasonal employment of Albanians."

At the end of the interview, Mr. Shehi said that "now we are preparing the protection conventions and shall present it to Greece, Italy, and Germany as soon as possible."

Nano Denies Charges of Corruption

AU3004191493 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Socialist Party Chairman Fatos Nano denies the charges made against him by the State Control Commission regarding his involvement in the Italian humanitarian aid scandal in 1991. He declared this in a news conference held at the Socialist Party headquarters in Tirana. Let us follow the report of [name indistinct] Qirjaqi:

[Qirjaqi] There is no truth to the charges by Blerim Cela in the People's Assembly question time, Socialist Party Chairman Fatos Nano declared. He continued by saying that they do not disturb my conscience at all. Nano reiterated his stance that these charges are politically based and run counter to the honest goals of the Socialist Party in the service of democracy.

Nano said that in administering foreign aid, the government he led followed standard procedures inherited from the Carcani government. He stressed that despite the lack of experience and legislation in this field, the government he led had shown itself to be honest in administering them. After assessing the Italian Government aid to Albania, he said that he does not rule out corruption on the Italian side in regard to the aid to Albania. Nano considers Albania's political future more tense. According to him, early elections are inevitable.

Berov Comments on Yugoslav Peace Plan

AU0305082293 Sofia BTA in English 0736 GMT 3 May 93

[From BTA 3 May Press Review]

[Excerpt] Sofia, May 3 (BTA)—Today's press leads with the news of the signing of the Vance-Owen peace plan by the leader of the Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadjic.

In a correspondence from the town of Pazardzhik DUMA cites Prime Minister Berov as saying that the Bulgarian Government is against the lifting of the embargo over arms deliveries to Bosnia-Herzegovina because this "would make the war there more bloody and prolonged." Prime Minister Berov stressed once again that despite the economic difficulties experienced by Bulgaria this country would strictly observe Resolution 820 of the UN Security Council.

STANDARD NEWS runs an extensive interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov. Asked whether he expects the conflict in the former Yugoslavia to spill over and whether there is a danger of Bulgaria being dragged into a military conflict, Professor Berov says: "If we speak frankly, the answer would be one and if we speak diplomatically it would be another." Prof. Berov said that he could answer this question only at a closed sitting of parliament.

A signed commentary in 24 CHASA reads that the "United States and its allies are impressing on the confused world that the peaceful means for settling the Bosnian conflict have exhausted themselves and the only remaining chance for bringing the Serbs to reason is military intervention." According to this commentary, "the political solution offered by Vance and Owen does not satisfy the advanced democratic world because it faces it with a number of difficult problems, because the actual realization of the peace plan for Bosnia would bring no profits from arms deliveries and because it presupposes material commitments. Against this background, one of the courted Balkan statesmen is Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev," the commentary says. According to this commentary, to all appearances Dr. Zhelev wishes Bulgaria to play a more active role in the solution of the Yugoconflict but the road chosen by the president is "unclear and full of risks for Bulgaria's national security." "Unfortunately our president did not have the courage to hold bilateral negotiations with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and attract Cosic and Milosevic to more constructive participation in the complicated diplomatic marathon," the commentary reads. [passage omitted]

Bikov Signs Agreements With Light Industry

AU3004174493 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Today Industry Minister Rumen Bikov and representatives of the relevant trade union federations of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria signed a collective labor agreement for the light industry sector and branch agreements for the mining, metallurgical, pulp and paper, woodworking, and furniture industries.

The provisions for minimum pay rates, working conditions, rest day working, and severe labor conditions included in the signed documents take into account the present state of the economy. The lowest minimum monthly pay rate, of 1,250 leva, is fixed for the woodworking and furniture industries, in view of the serious state of the enterprises concerned at the moment.

According to Dimitur Dimov, president of the Podkrepa Mineworkers Federation, the miners' problems will remain, and they will not be resolved until a framework agreement is signed that specifies concrete ways and means to resolve the conflicts in the mining industry.

Berov Submits 1993 Draft Budget to Parliament

AU3004103193 Sofia BTA in English 0853 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 30 (BTA)—The National Assembly opened the debate on the 1993 national budget.

Presenting the budget, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov stressed that the projected allocation of 3,800 million leva for the payment of interest on Bulgaria's debt to the creditor banks of the London Club was in line with the decision of the previous cabinet to start servicing the foreign debt. The projected amount confirms Bulgaria's desire to reach a debt-settlement agreement this year, Prof. Berov said. For the time being the government does not link the debt-settlement negotiations to the increasing losses inflicted on the country's economy the lack of a solution to the Yugocrisis, he said.

Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov told parliament that the macroeconomic framework of the budget was mainly aimed to curb inflation, stop the decline of production and revive it.

The deficit in the draft budget is 27,000 million leva based on a projected annual growth of inflation of 60 percent. Prime Minister Berov underlined that the outstanding budget expenditures totalling 8,300 million leva incurred by the previous cabinet additionally burdened the deficit.

Karabashev: Cabinet Plans Economic Program

AU3004144193 Sofia BTA in English 1259 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 30 (BTA)—This government has to solve two problems simultaneously: to conduct a second stabilization programme and to start the long-awaited structural reform, Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev says in an extensive interview for the IKONOMIKA business monthly.

Relative financial stabilization was achieved in mid-1991 and remained steady till mid-1992, Mr. Karabashev observes. However, towards the end of 1992 the measures by which financial stability were maintained exhausted their power and towards the end of last year it was seriously threatened. That is why, Mr. Karabashev says, it is necessary to adopt a new programme of stabilization measures.

This programme contains aspects aimed at restricting or at least mastering inflation and guaranteeing conditions for the state to perform its vitally important functions, the deputy prime minister says, adding that the means by which this can be achieved are providing budget revenues and reasonable restriction and redistribution of budget expenditures.

As regards the problems related to the budget, according to Mr. Karabashev, they stem from the burdens transferred from the 1992 to the 1993 budget. These are the loans for the power engineering sector, the unpaid subsidies to Bulgarian State Railways, the unpaid interests on the budget to the central bank on the internal deficit and the postponed rise in the prices of energy and liquid fuels. If we take into account the development of the economic situation last year, all these steps could have been taken then without causing such great difficulties, which are now blamed on the present government, the deputy prime minister says.

Privatization is one of the main priorities in the government's economic policy, Mr. Karabashev stresses. But according to him, it is impossible for privatization to take large-scale proportions overnight. There are two conditions for its starting and normal progress: the presence of political will and sufficient economic interests. So far we lacked the first condition and that is why privatization was delayed, Mr. Karabashev believes.

Socialist Party Holds May Day Rally in Sofia

AU0105170693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 1 May 93

[Liliyana Yancheva report]

[Text] This morning the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] held a May Day rally under the motto "Justice, Solidarity, and Security," with chants of "BSP." The rally has already ended, but I will briefly describe it for our listeners.

Aleksandur Marinov, chairman of the BSP Sofia City Council, greeted all those present. Cries of "Eternal Friendship" greeted the guest from Russia—Mr. Karpov, chairman of the Slavonic Convention international public association. Karpov said that the Slavonic peoples should unite because strength lies in unification and unity.

May Day is the common possession of millions of people throughout the world, Zhan Videnov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, declared, adding that it is also sacred to every Bulgarian socialist. Videnov extended May Day greetings all those present and also congratulated the DUMA newspaper on its annual festival.

DUMA Editor in Chief Stefan Prodev invited everyone to greet the DUMA staff at their May Day celebration in the Borisova Garden and also show Bulgaria that in our country the socialist idea is alive and has a future, and that Bulgarian national life cannot continue without it.

The participants in the rally then set off to the Borisova Garden to join in the festival of the DUMA newspaper.

Defense Industry Reform Project Announced

AU2904203693 Sofia BTA in English 1658 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—A project for structural adjustment of the Bulgarian military-industrial complex [MIC], drafted by the Industry Ministry, is intended to construct an efficient industry model, Industry Minister Rumen Bikov told a news conference today.

The ministry's project was submitted to the government for consideration last Thursday. The document is confidential and its circulation was restricted to the president, parliament, the Council of Ministers, and the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army. Various comments on the project appeared in the media over the last few weeks. The most extreme version described it as Mr. Bikov's attempt to take personal control of the MIC's future.

Mr. Bikov says the Bulgarian arms industry has never been in a deeper crisis. The industry's markets have shrunk to a quarter of their previous size. One option to raise the efficiency of the MIC, suggested in the project, is to set up four joint-stock companies grouping military supplies' manufacturers on a product basis, Mr. Bikov said. The result would be holding companies of the producers of ammunitions, arms and military equipment, optics and electronics. These new structures will be able to evolve their own trade services, without excluding the existing arms trading companies, and research and development establishments, he said.

The project consists of two parts: first, an analysis and evaluation of the state of the MIC and, second, a proposal for a new industry model, Mr. Bikov said. The first part analyzes the condition of every military plant. The analysis showed that 40 of the total of 80 military plants manufacture, between them, as little as 0.02 percent of the military supplies, Mr. Bikov said. This gave the ministry reasons to suggest in the project that these enterprises be separated from the MIC.

According to the project, 5,000 million leva's worth of debts, incurred by the military enterprises to build the government mobilization reserves, are to be transformed into public debt this budget year, Mr. Bikov said. He indicated that the MIC enterprises transformed 2,000 million leva debts in 1992. The proposal has been

cleared with the Ministry of Finance and has been taken into account in the government's draft budget, Mr. Bikov said.

Mr. Bikov observed that to help the MIC out of its straits, new legitimate markets should be sought for the Bulgarian military output. He said that the Defence Ministry's orders to the MIC are declining dramatically. The Defence Ministry's orders for 1993 amount to just 80 million leva, Mr. Bikov said.

He reported that his ministry has already received observations on the project from Deputy Prime Minister Neycho Neev, Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, the General Staff, Bulgarian Socialist Party floor leader Nora Ananieva, and the office of President Zhelyu Zhelev. All observations received so far assess the project in positive terms, Mr. Bikov emphasized.

Gen Petrov Interviewed on NATO Talks

AU3004174693 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] An hour ago a Bulgarian military delegation led by Army General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff, arrived at Sofia Airport from Brussels, where they had taken part in a meeting of the Military Committee of NATO on cooperation with partner countries and the annual conference of the Supreme Command of NATO Armed Forces Europe—SHAPEX '93.

General Petrov also had a meeting with General (?Josef Charlier), chief of the General Staff of the Royal Belgian Armed Forces. Here is an interview that General Petrov gave to our reporter Khristo Petrov immediately upon arrival:

[Begin recording] [Khristov] General Petrov, welcome back to Bulgarian soil.

[Petrov] Thank you.

[Khristov] Were all your meetings and contacts successful, and can you also tell us something about your visit as a whole?

[Petrov] All the meetings that I had with my colleagues from the Balkan countries—I had the opportunity to meet with all of them—were in my view very successful. Similarly, I assess the visit as very useful for us. We attended the session of the NATO Military Committee, which examined the organization of peacekeeping operations and the administration of the peacekeeping forces. These are extremely interesting issues that are of concern to us as well, because we will play an increasing part in these operations. Accordingly, it was very beneficial to hear from them how these operations are organized.

[Khristov] Was our delegation a passive participant in the meeting?

[Petrov] Quite the contrary, we took part....

[Khristov, interrupting] In what specifically?

[Petrov] We stated our views on all the issues that were discussed.

[Khristov] You met with your Belgian counterpart. Did you sign any documents?

[Petrov] Yes, we had a very good meeting. We signed an agreement on military cooperation and a program for such cooperation. I am extremely pleased, because we specified the principles and directions of our cooperation.

[Khristov] During your contacts in Brussels, was any request made for an air corridor through Bulgaria?

[Petrov, laughing] I heard nothing about any such thing, nor was any comment made anywhere on this matter. [end recording]

[News announcer] With these words, General Petrov gave his answer to a number of reports in our newspapers on this subject.

Cabinet Approves Black Sea Bank

AU2904195293 Sofia BTA in English 1547 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—At today's regular meeting the Council of Ministers approved in principle the establishment of a Black Sea Bank for reconstruction and development with the participation of the countries in the Black Sea. Its statutory capital will be 1,000 million special drawing rights or 1,400 million dollars. In the cabinet's opinion, the participants' stakes should not be equal in amount, they should depend on the economic potential of the respective participating country. It was proposed to headquarter the bank in Sofia. According to Emil Khursev, vice governor of the Bulgarian National Bank, Bulgaria can afford participation with 30-40 million special drawing rights. If the Black Sea countries reach agreement on all issues, the bank could be established in 1994. The participants are going to discuss the matter at a meeting in the Black Sea town of Varna this June.

The government approved a bill amending the General Conscription Act under which young people admitted to higher education establishments to meet the government requirement for specialists will be excused from conscription until their graduation. However, they should be conscripted before turning 26.

In connection with the request for licensing the research by the Ukrainian vessel Ernst Krenkel in Bulgaria's exclusive economic zone in July this year, the Council of Ministers decided that such researches should be licensed only after the Ministry of the Environment gives its consent. Concerning the Ukrainian vessel, the Ministry of the Environment has not been asked for opinion.

The Council of Ministers held a closed meeting to consider the fate of the Soviet Army Monument in Sofia. The decision of the Sofia City Council to remove the monument triggered the protest of followers of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, who hindered its dismantling. The Council of Ministers' spokesman announced today that some documents had been found which show that the monument is not a municipal property but belongs to the state. The cabinet will ask Sofia's Mayor Aleksandur Yanchulev to establish the legal status of the monument in order to decide its future fate. According to the government's spokesman, the prevailing opinion is that the monument should be moved to another place, paying due honours to the Soviet Army soldiers.

Today the Council of Ministers considered the proposal of Minister of Justice Misho Vulchev to reverse the Palace of Justice to the judiciary on July 1, 1993. At the time of the communist regime it was taken away from the judiciary and the National Museum of History was moved into it. Filip Dimitrov's cabinet decided to reverse the building to the judiciary but the decision was not put into effect. The cabinet did not come to a final decision today. By the estimate of the previous cabinet, to move the National Museum of History would cost between 50 and 250 million leva. Today the cabinet appointed a commission which should present a report on the expected cost of moving the National Museum of History that houses items of about 5,000 million dollars' worth.

The bill amending the Code of Criminal Procedure, which the Council of Ministers approved today, will introduce a simplified type of investigation or "preliminary inquiry" into criminal cases on public-law offences. The preliminary inquiry will be conducted by the National Investigation Service assistant examining magistrates, thus making it possible for the examining magistrates to focus on more serious crimes. The amendment will help the combat against rising crime as the present system proved to be rather sluggish, Minister of Justice Misho Vulchev told journalists today. Now the cases received at National Investigation Service every month exceed the number of cases completed by about 2,500, Minister Vulchev said. The simplified form of investigation was in operation in Bulgaria until 1944.

IAEA 'Impressed' With Kozloduy Safety

AU0105172193 Sofia BTA in English 1939 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Kozloduy, April 30 (BTA)—We are impressed with the large scope of the measures taken to upgrade the nuclear and operational safety of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant and to bring it up to international standards, Keith Hyde said today. He is leader of the OSART [expansion unknown] mission sent by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) at the request of the Bulgarian Government. Hopefully, the mission and its report, which will be circulated by the IAEA, will convince Europe at last that the Kozloduy Plant has attained an acceptable safety level, Bulgarian experts believe.

Their hope stems from the final observation by the eight experts who carefully inspected the technical and operational state of the four units of the WWER-440 type for five days. Mr. Hyde said that in June 1991 the OSART mission was seriously alarmed by the state of the nuclear power plant, which was the result of many years of careless operation and inadequate repairs. The equipment was in a technical condition which might have made the safety systems unreliable. That is why the IAEA considered the further operation of the four units ill-advised, according to the mission leader. It is very good that the problems have largely been solved with Units Two, Three and Four. Safety upgrading measures are being taken for Unit One as well. Of course, there is much to do about the plant's safety, according to Mr. Hyde. However, he will insist that the IAEA give financial and technical assistance on the grounds of what has been done so far.

Mr. Hyde's view is identical with that of a team of the Anderssen financial firm which has been making an economic analysis of the Kozloduy Plant. Besides, the plant's management has submitted to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development a specification on the highest priorities of safety upgrading and hopes for support.

Foreign Minister on Federal Property Settlement

LD3004154593 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Before the talks scheduled for today between the prime ministers of the Czech and Slovak Republics, our Prague correspondent Daniela Galikova spoke to Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec about the division of property.

[Begin recording] [Galikova] Mr. Minister, in your recent speech to the Czech parliament you said that from the actions of the Slovak side you had the impression that the Slovak side was not interested in reaching an agreement and that the negotiations were becoming to lose their serious character. You also said that the negotiations should be suspended for some time. It is exactly these views that are being commented on in Slovakia as calculations with a fall of the Slovak Government. What is your response to these arguments?

[Zieleniec] Well, as to the view that the talks are becoming to lose their seriousness, it really is my impression. Since apart from clearly legitimate arguments, arguments like compensation for the flag, for some villages, for federal know-how and God knows what else are being presented. It is impossible to reach an agreement in this way. I cannot even imagine any negotiations about these things. However, I do not think that this means counting on the fall or not of the government. [passage omitted]

I resolutely reject that these are any speculations about the fall of the government. It is rather a realistic belief that if there is not enough clear will on both sides only time can resolve the problem. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Czech, Slovak Ministers Start Property Talks

LD3004205893 Prague CTK in English 1826 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Brno, South Moravia, April 30 (CTK)—The Czech and Slovak Premiers, Vaclav Klaus and Vladimir Meciar, started talks on the division of former federal property in the Czech Government Tugendhat Villa in Brno tonight.

The meeting has been initiated by Klaus in reaction to the Slovaks' decision not to attend further round of talks on property division, which was to take place on Thursday.

This is a third meeting of the two premiers in the Tugendhat Villa. The first took place on June 8, 1992, just after the parliamentary elections, when Klaus and Meciar discussed the formation of a new federal government.

Ways of ending the Czechoslovak Federation were discussed in the second meeting on August 26.

Give News Conference

LD3004224293 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2043 GMT 30 Apr 93

[News conference by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar at the Tugenhat villa in Brno; Meciar speaks in Slovak—live]

[Excerpts] [Klaus] I would like to sum up very briefly our talks today—and apologize for the badly functioning microphones. I would like to say that the results of the meeting are positive. [applause] It opened the way to future talks. We managed to explain certain misunderstandings which existed on both sides—whether we like to admit it or not. In this sense the meeting today allows a return to standard talks on the division—or remaining division of the property of the Czechoslovak Federation. It is therefore a road that does not force the adoption of any kind of extreme solutions that had been given one name or another in the recent period. So, we are proceeding the standard way. We will proceed and speed up the convention of the property commission and create conditions for its work. The commission will meet next week, Thursday or Friday [6 or 7 May] and will more or less follow the road that was outlined earlier and on which undisputable progress has been achieved, no matter how it may have seemed to have halted to some degree recently.

So, in this sense, the results of our talks today are positive, I think. Some questions remain, namely the division of the largest item, the division of the assets and liabilities of the Czechoslovak State Bank. I respect the fact that the item in question is such a significant and large one that the Slovak partner wants to carry out one more round to assess the size of this item and that is why we instruct a joint commission of experts to immediately study this—I repeat and admit—significant and large item in detail again.

But, otherwise, I believe it is possible to give the green light to further talks. As far as I am concerned, that is enough for an introduction.

[Meciar] It would be a mistake to reduce Czech-Slovak relations at present merely to questions of property settlement. They have a wider significance and content. In the sphere of property settlement there are several issues which have already been solved and agreements can be signed by both prime ministers at the appropriate moment.

As far as the settlement of bank accounts and the federation's final account are concerned, we consider it necessary to have yet another check carried out by experts who will check some facts concerning 1992 and 1991. On the basis of these assessments by experts it will be possible to arrive at the conclusion.

The two prime ministers will appoint commissions of experts at the beginning of next week. The property commission can re-embark on its work at the end of next week.

During our talks I also handed over a draft agreement on procedural matters, and the role and tasks of commissions of experts, which will enable them to arrive at qualified stands.

The Slovak side does not question the fact that there is a deficit in the state budget [as heard] unfavorable for the Slovak Republic but we want to know how big it is, we want to know the reasons, and subsequently to discuss this issue in a practical way.

The final talks should include all the issues in which the two sides are interested. From the point of view of some rumors which are currently circulating, I asked the prime minister [Klaus] to be so kind as to check whether the information is true that the Czechoslovak Trade Bank has blocked the accounts of some organizations from Slovakia. I asked to have this fact checked and if this is the case to unblock these accounts as this contradicts both the spirit of our talks and international law.

[Chairman Jiri Kovar] Slovak television, please.

[Unidentified correspondent] Slovak Television. Prime ministers, you have certainly sp[oken about many important issues. In spite of that, the citizens would be interested to know what will happen with the shares. Did you touch on this topic as well?

[Klaus] Do you have in mind shares for coupons, coupon shares? Well, I have to repeat what I said that the Czech side has never cast doubts on issuing shares for coupons, in principle. It only linked the time of issue to the completion of solutions to some questions of this type. In this sense, I think that my answer is sufficient.

[Kovar] Thank you. Now Czech Television. Mrs Tacheci.

[Tacheci] Czech Television. I am probably going to formulate this question more clearly. Does it mean, Mr. Prime Minister, that the shares will not be issued before these property agreements are concluded? This is the first question, to you.

The second question is for Prime Minister Meciar. Mr. Prime Minister, do your words mean that after the balance of the state bank has been verified and the result is known the Slovak side will be willing to repay, in any form, that debt in the amount of almost 25 billion [korunas]? Thank you.

[Klaus] I have nothing to add to my answer to the question by Slovak Television.

[Meciar] Of course, if the audit or the assessment by experts takes place and if this shows the sum and time, then we shall hold talks first about acknowledging the liability and then of the ways of repayment. Of course, any such agreement would be linked to all factors. It is premature for me to speak of a final amount.

[Kovar] Thank you. Czech Television, Mr. Dzuna please.

[Dzuna] A question for Prime Minister Meciar. Mr. Prime Minister, did you speak of certain claims put forward by President Kovac, for example, of some compensation, very difficult to put into figures, for the use of the federal flag, for villages of Spis ceded to Poland, for federal know-how?

[Meciar] Yes, these issues were on te agenda but no agreement was reached. They will be discussed by a commission later on. The important thing though is that they need to be expressed in a tangible, material, or financial form. This claim is based on abstract concepts so far.

[Klaus] Well, I do not like to get into controversy. I think though that I would slightly modify this formulation.

These issues were mentioned and we talked about them. That is true. I have to say, though, at least that is my understanding of our talks so far, that as long as we stick to standard procedure, that is, tangible things, things that can be proved, to put it simply—things that are simple, easy to understand for everybody—these matters will not be on the table since they would provoke, in my opinion, endless claims on both sides. This situation would lead nowhere but to a nonstandard, extreme solution. It would, more or less, lead to shirking responsibility for resolving in a sensible way matters that we can and are able to resolve. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Press Agency of the Slovak Republic. A question for both prime ministers: Before his trip to Brno, Prime Minister Meciar said he was ready to sign a framework agreement, and that has actually been ready since Mr. Klaus's first official visit to Bratislava. Have you spoken about that matter? Do you plan to sign anything in the near future? Is Mr. Klaus willing to sign the framework agreement first and then the partial agreements? And the last question: Have you set a deadline by which you must sign the agreement? And when will you call for an international audit in the event you do not agree?

[Klaus] As for the framework agreement, well, the first draft of the framework agreement which really is not much different from today's variant—excerpt that with the passing of time it has been improved in individual details, but the essence has not changed—this agreement was drafted before last Christmas. In this sense there is no dispute about that framework agreement and there has been no dispute since that time. The problem is that side by side with this agreement a number of other issues have emerged which have pushed that agreement into the background and turned it into something that is not completely decisive. And that is why the signing or non-signing of that agreement itself would not shift this issue much further. So, in this sense I have no objections

to that agreement and I see no reason why its signing should be delayed. But the core of the problem is somewhere beyond this agreement.

[Meciar] That is more or less what we have agreed but I did give Prime Minister Klaus the draft text of the agreement.

[Klaus] Yes, yes.

[Meciar] We did not agree on any deadline because of the expertise but it is not possible to artificially protract matters ad infinitum. So the date will depend on the operational ability of the experts. There is a number of documents which they have to study as well as quite a long period of the bank's activities.

[Kovar] Mr. Wengler, RUDE PRAVO, please.

[Wengler] Gentlemen, will the transfer of property about which an agreement has already been reached start following today's talks?

[Klaus] Look, let us let this question, its details, be decided by the property commission next week.

We both say—and consider this to be a positive and not a negative—that the thing which we would consider from various points of view to be risky, dangerous, i.e. the completion of property transfer as far as the Army is concerned, continues and will continue without being slowed down by any intervention. Please be aware of this, I think this is important that we can say this.

[Meciar] Yes, as far as the Army is concerned, this will take place without any interruption. Other things will be discussed. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent from Czech Television] Prime Minister Meciar, please do not be angry—I do not understand your answer concerning the balance of the State Bank very well. You said that if the commission of experts came to the conclusion that the figures tally, you would negotiate the recognition of this debt. Does that mean then that the conclusion by the group of experts that the figures tally would not automatically result in your recognition of the debt?

[Meciar] And if it does not confirm the figures? You asked about specific amounts, and I cannot commit myself to any specific amount. I am sorry.

[Correspondent] No, I am asking this: Will the conclusion made by the commission of experts mean an obligation for you to recognize the debt? That is my question.

[Meciar] As far as the recognition of the debt is concerned, we want to know the amount and why the debt was incurred. That will be the step that will follow the first—that is, the stipulated amount.

[Kovar] Thank you. Any more questions?

[Klaus] Please, can I specify? We spoke about this matter for a long time. It is, of course, absolutely the largest item of them all, and we have, of course, spoken about the fact that a balance of the assets and liabilities of the State Bank exists and that it is not a zero one to the credit of one or the other party—there are no doubts in that sense. There is no need to bring this matter to a head. This finally confirmed value must be solved by another form of property agreement—that is quite obvious. Let us not nitpick.

[Correspondent Valka] SVOBODNE SLOVO, Valka; has the atmosphere of your talks today been as accommodating as when you were dividing the state?

[Meciar] The atmosphere of our talks has been the same.

[Klaus] Yes, it has been, in this sense, of course. I would agree with what Prime Minister Meciar said. [passage omitted]

EC Representative Arrives in Prague on Visit

LD0205173393 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Prague May 2 (CTK)—Hans Van den Broek, the European Community (EC) Commission member responsible for external relations and security policy, arrived here today on an official visit to the Czech Republic to discuss possibilities of improving and strengthening mutual contacts.

Broek told CTK upon his arrival that he was looking forward to talks with the Czech president and the government on future prospects of very close cooperation between the Czech Republic and the European Community.

Pavel Bratinka, Czech deputy foreign minister, told CTK that Czech officials are expecting the visit to contribute to the conclusion of talks on the Czech Republic's association agreement with the EC. He said Czech diplomats would also like to discuss the circumstances and the impact of an EC embargo on imports of Czech meat and dairy products to EC states and proceed from political dialogue with the EC to certain forms of concrete cooperation.

Bratinka said Czech diplomats would convey their wish that at its forthcoming summit in Copenhagen, the EC make clear what conditions the Czech Republic must meet to be admitted to the EC. He said that cooperation within the Visegrad regional group is also on the talks' agenda. Bratinka said that the Czech Republic will urge the EC to provide guarantees that cooperation within the regional grouping comprising the Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland and Hungary would not mean that all the countries would have to be admitted to the EC jointly.

Bratinka said that proceeding from a political dialogue with the EC to concrete cooperation meant, for example, that Czech experts would participate in EC working groups.

He said that while discussing the EC Association Agreement with the EC commissioner, the Czechs will seek to clarify the issue of a suspensive clause which the EC wants to include in the document. The clause provides for the possibility of suspending the validity of EC association agreements in case human rights are violated in the country concerned. Bratinka said Czech officials would try to clarify to what cases the clause would be applicable.

President Havel will meet Hans Van den Broek later in the day, Bratinka said, adding that the meeting will take place at Broek's own request. This testifies to Havel's high prestige on the international scene, Bratinka stressed.

Monday's agenda of Broek's visit include talks with Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus and Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. After this the EC commissioner will leave for Bratislava before traveling to Hungary.

Meets With Havel

LD0205201093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1900 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Today in Lany, Czech President Vaclav Havel met Hans van den Broek, EC commissioner for foreign relations and security affairs, who arrived in the Czech Republic for an official visit.

The guest told the president that talks about association agreements had reached the stage when they could be signed by the Czech Republic and Slovakia soon.

Vaclav Havel stressed the need to establish a flexible system of consultations between the EC Commission and our state, and in this way make sure that the situation would not be repeated when something is presented to the Czech Republic as a fait accompli, as was the case of a blanket embargo on meat exports. According to the president's press department, the commissioner showed understanding as far as this issue is concerned, and was in favor of improving consultation mechanisms.

Klaus Interviewed on Health Care System

AU3004144493 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 27 Apr 93 p 9

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Viktor Krejci: place and date not given: " 'I Was Pushing the Amount of Insurance Premiums Down' "]

[Text] [Krejci] Compared with the protectionist policy of the EC countries, the Czech Republic has gone farther in certain directions than the advanced countries of Europe. How are we going to behave in this situation? In this connection, I would be interested in your opinion on the fact that the Czech left is making adroit use of some events in the West to push for their demands and point to the practice in some countries of the democratic world.

[Klaus] My interpretation of the situation in the West is one thing, and the behavior of our left and our opposition is another. Of course, it is easier to comment on the latter. The opposition uses any occasion to attack the government, but it seems to me that these transparent tactics do not bring results. If the chairman of the Communist Party says that the West is undergoing a deep economic recession, then I must ask him what we should call the situation in the East, and how he would describe the situation in the former Soviet Union.

The real situation in West Europe and the EC is more important and essential. This is no big surprise to me, since the policy of certain protection measures is a permanent attribute of the ideology, arguments, and behavior of this grouping. Swings and deviations in recent days do no represent a new trend. These countries are stable and permanent democracies, and this stability can be seen, among other things, in the fact that in the past decades lobbying groups defending partial and specific interests had time to form themselves, stabilize, and grow. They have a great opportunity to push for their protectionist interests, and influence the policy of their governments in a direction that is not favorable for us.

In this sense, fortunately, we are living in an unstable situation, and special interest groups did not have enough time to form. This means that the government's hands are more free. This is why I am not surprised by all these things, nor am I disappointed by them, since I know they are intrinsic to the way the West European integration group was conceived.

[Krejci] Do you think, then, that the Czech Republic is more advanced in that respect than the EC countries?

[Klaus] I would like to say, immodestly, yes. However, this should be specified in more detail. We are replacing one system by another, and the pendulum of our ideological movement is still moving from left to right. For logical reasons, this movement is nonexistent in EC countries. We are heading toward a general model of a market economy, to which there is no realistic parallel in the West European countries, where the reality is complicated and controversial.

In view of what I have said—that lobbying groups are not so strong in our country—our hands are more free, and it would be unfair if we boasted about it.

[Krejci] What is your opinion on the integration process in Europe? Is it not too artificial and too fast? Is Margaret Thatcher right or not?

[Klaus] The integration process in Europe represents, in my opinion, one of the infinite number of elements of

the permanent and ambivalent European process, which has lasted for centuries, and in which two trends interlace—as T. G. Masaryk said in 1922. The first is a centralist one, the other, autonomy-seeking. Both trends have always been present simultaneously and after a certain historical shakeup or event, one prevails, and after another, the other prevails. It is clear that Europe will not end up in one or the other extreme. These two trends will be constantly present and according to historic circumstances they will acquire a specific shape. Under the pressure of an external enemy, Europe will always tighten its links, and after this enemy disappears, there will be a trend toward looser relations. It is good to read Masaryk's text, about which I have spoken, and which looks as if it were written in 1993, and applied to the Maastricht treaty.

The illusion that the 90's and Maastricht will become the end of the history are, of course, nonsense. If the pendulum was heading in one direction in the 80's, then in the 90's it is moving in the opposite direction. The task of the Czech Republic—which wants to become a regular European country as soon as possible, with all the attributes that follow therefrom—is to watch everything very carefully and attentively, and not to be only a passive entity.

There is one more dimension to all of this. We often say that outer events are the consequence of the interest of the participants in these events, but when we look more closely, it seems to us that they have ideas, visions, concepts, and thoughts. I am afraid that it is precisely the supranational sphere where, logically, the changes in the ideological climate in individual countries appear with the largest delay. Here, we have a long time delay.

In the 60's, there was a turning point in principal postwar opinions on relations between the individual and the state. The Keynes deviation, i.e., the belief in the power of the state (which belief appeared in the form of the communist extreme in our part of the world), was principally challenged in the 60's by individuals, and in the 70's, these news ideas penetrated the sphere of politics, and in the 80's, a new and practical policy was implemented, but only within individual countries, for the time being. I firmly believe that the 90's will see the implementation of similar ideas in the sphere of international politics.

Foreign policy has always been the domain of leftist intellectuals in this century, and I was happy when I read the famous 1949 thesis by Hayek—"On Intellectuals and Socialism." In it Hayek says that when leftist intellectuals lose their position at home, they establish an international institution.

[Krejci] Can you comprehensibly explain why such large amounts of taxes and insurance premiums were approved originally? I believe the entire matter has not been sufficiently explained yet, and people who are often supporters of the government have a strange feeling of mistrust.

[Klaus] As in any other matter, we must distinguish between the essence of the problem and its outward appearance, shaped by the outcries of Mr. Baranek and the like. Rumors that have appeared behind the allegations about the antiliberal nature of our tax and insurance laws are merely caricaturing reality.

The consequence of the tax system introduced at the beginning of this year is an alleviation of the tax burden of the people of this country. I think that it was implemented too soon, but we were boarding a train that was moving full speed, and there was nothing left for us but to close the door. Previous governments of the republic drafted and passed everything, and I, as federal finance minister, had no chance to correct it.

We should not forget two things, even in this case. The existing government was caught between a rock and hard place within this inherited small room for maneuver. On the one hand, there were liberal ideas and, on the other, there were enormous pressures exerted by the health care system in the lobby to increase insurance premiums even more, which efforts I opposed personally—not by speaking out loud in public—and they were finally lowered. It is possible that this has never been said clearly. This was the first thing that I wanted to say. This means that in the fall 1992, we did not have problems involving the government and let us say, tradesmen, but problems between the government and the health care system.

[Krejci] I believe that it would be good to explain this matter, since from the outside it looked as if there were attempts to establish a level of the health care for which there is actually no money.

[Klaus] Exactly. This was promised by former governments. The value of the point [hodnota bodu] [by which medical fees are determined] was such as to leave us no room for maneuver. We lowered it, and I personally fought for it for two months—that is, in September and October last year. I would be very happy if my critics from the ranks of entrepreneurs realized this, a little, at least.

The entire situation also originated from the fact that there was no one who would fight on the other side. Entrepreneurial associations remained strangely silent. Insurance premiums ceased to exist as an item in the state budget, and the Finance Ministry—which always acts in the interests of the budget—ceased to be the natural advocate of low insurance premiums since money was not taken out of the budget, but from the taxpayer's pocket. This means that the final authority—the finance minister in this case—was absent. These drafts were, in fact, presented by the health minister and the minister of labor and social affairs, and there was no opponent who would oppose them. I played this role of the opponent, and pushed for lower premiums. No one of the ministers felt this to constitute spending from his part of the budget, and that is why they were not

sufficiently interested in the matter. I brought a blackboard and draw some numbers—and nothing happened. During this dispute, we missed some details, naturally, which is negligible from the general viewpoint, however, and can be repaired.

Another problem was that the health care and social security are really not worth much. We were living in nirvana believing that all this was being paid from some imaginary coffers, and we had no idea that each and every one of us had to share it. There was much criticism against the insurance laws, which originated from the shock of our having learned how much our health care and social security systems actually cost. Until then, we did not want to realize it, since there was a 50-percent levy on our salaries every month, about which we knew almost nothing.

The health care system costs are what they are, and are even more expensive than in the past. The hope that we, all of us, could equally share the principle of solidarity is likely never to come true, and there will always be someone who will feel he is paying too much and that he is not sick. The media did not help us explain our standpoint at that time, and, at the same time, we were dividing the state, establishing the Senate, abolishing the Federal Assembly, drafting the Constitution, and holding talks on property. That is why we did not have enough time to explain the entire matter thoroughly.

Now, I would like to poke at tradesmen a little. Standard letters that I receive have roughly the following content: I am 28, and I have not had a cold for five years. There is still much time left before I get my pension. Last year, I paid the minimum insurance premiums, and all of a sudden, I am expected to pay more. This line of thinking is missing the point, since our insurance laws have been established on the solidarity principle. If we wanted to allow ourselves to be governed by such opinions—which we find in these letters—then we would have to have a different insurance system, which we do not have.

All that means that we have here imperfect details, but Mr. Baranek's attack is quite unfair in that respect.

[Krejci] Was it not a mistake to let Miroslav Macek fall—since it was evident he had not violated the law, only the left wing attacked the Civic Democratic Party, using him as a pretext—and, on the other hand, retain Jiri Kovar in office, if the evidence against him is evidently more serious in his case.

[Klaus] As regards Mr. Macek, I feel sorry for him, of course. You know well that I have not given him up easily. On the other hand, I was reproached with not having given him up more easily and faster. I believe this is not the end of everything, and that Mr. Macek can still make a career another time.

As regards J. Kovar, I do not agree. The fact that, with his young age, J. Kovar was unable to cope with a number of important positions—for instance, chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the Federal Assembly, or deputy chairman of the largest political party—is a thing that can happen to anyone of us. In this case, there was only one solution. J. Kovar was deprived of his parliamentary position, his function of deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party, and his membership in the Civic Democratic Party Executive Committee. It seems to me an adequate move out of the political limelight. He cannot be reproached with anything else but the fact that he was unable to cope with the rapid rise of his political career. Anything more than that is a fabrication of the media, in my opinion. In my view, Kovar should not be politically active now, and should deal at the Office of the Government with what he is actually dealing, that is, administration of premises, managing the car fleet, replacing company doctors, controlling the quality of the operation of the kitchen, etc.

[Krejci] What do the Christian parties mean to you, and how they differ from the civic ones.

[Klaus] Speaking about our four government parties, they are a certain residuum after the post-November situation, and I am pretty sure that this is not the final state. As regards general attitudes, if we had a narrower political spectrum of political parties of the English or American type, then the supporters of our four political parties would be members of one English-type conservative party, or an American-type republican party. Maybe we would have here a wing that would have closer relations with church institutions, and a wing that goes to church less frequently, or not at all. I would even be able to say—and not only me, but Mr. Benda, Kalvoda, and Lux, too, would be able to admit—that there are people in the remaining three political parties whose opinions are closer to mine—closer than the opinions of some in my own party.

Of course, in a situation in which we have four political parties, there are natural animosities and differences due to prestige and competition. However, I believe that there are smaller differences in opinion than differences between individual people.

[Krejci] Why do you believe that Christian-oriented parties are important in our political spectrum?

[Klaus] I would not use the word "important." I personally, do not need anything from them. I even think there is a greater number of Christian oriented members within the Civic Democratic Party than in the entire Christian Democratic Party itself. That is why I would not use such a comparison, since this is not the most important dividing line between our opinions such as, for example, opinion on the building of the army, security, or the education or health care system.

[Krejci] Could you explain your view on the position of the churches?

[Klaus] I would not assign such a high status to churches as the members of the political parties whose name begins with the letter "C" [Christian parties] do. To me,

the churches, as one of the human institutions, gather together certain groups of people who have certain interests and create the pluralist nature of our society. I highly value their activity.

However, attempts are being made to put the churches above other special interest groups and give them a special status, which I cannot accept at all. I am not saying anything about the role churches play within society, whether their role is better or worse than that of the Club of Czech Tourists, or the Bone Marrow Foundation.

[Krejci] Does this attitude stem from the Civic Democratic Party's stand on the restitution of church property? For example, in the Christian Democratic Union - Czechoslovak People's Party, there are still people from Bartoncik's party leadership, whose position within the party would probably became much stronger if the value of church property rose sharply, which also could lead to changes in the existing leadership.

[Klaus] My opinions on problems connected with restitution are unchangeable, and can be applied to any given institution or special interest group. I do not speculate whether it will bring immediate political profit. Narrow-minded considerations taking into account problems connected with competition, or political problems, must not play any role in considerations about property [restitution].

Defense Council Recommends Restructuring of Army

LD2904173193 Prague CTK in English 1616 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Prague April 29 (CTK)—At its first session after the foundation of the independent Czech Republic, the State Defence Council (ROS) has recommended that the Czech Government approve a draft proposal for the Czech Army's new structure.

Under the new scheme, the Czech Army would have some 65,000 soldiers. It would be based on the brigade system and include three kinds of troops, ground forces, air forces and anti-aircraft defence, Czech Defence Minister Antonin Baudys told CTK.

The structure of the Defence Ministry and of the General Staff should be changed, Baudys said.

Baudys stated that the Czech Republics admission to NATO had not been explicitly discussed by the ROS. It was just mentioned that we were and would be making moves to become a member of the collective body, he noted. Baudys added that the ROS had dealt with the necessity of compatibility with NATO not in terms of weapons, but of command, working methods and Army spirit.

If there are no problems and we are able to observe the schedule, the change of the Army's structure will start on July 1, Baudys stated.

Czech President Vaclav Havel, who chairs the ROS, told journalists that the ROS' position had been also discussed. At present, it is conceived as a purely advisory body for the government and president, analogous to the Council of the Economic Ministers, Havel said.

When we were factually contemplating the ROS' role, we suggested that in peaceful times it would be an advisory body, and in difficult times, following the presidents or premiers decision, an executive body, Czech Minister of the Interior Jan Ruml told journalists.

President Havel appointed the ROS' members on February 18.

From a legal standpoint, its position has not yet been clearly defined, as it has been continued from the former Czechoslovakia and no law of the Czech Republic on the ROS has been passed yet.

Meciar on Political Strength, Other Issues

AU2904141593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 22 Apr 93 p 6

[Second and final installment of interview with Vladimir Meciar, prime minister and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia chairman, by Julius Gembicky and Ivan Horsky in Bratislava; date not given: "Being Prime Minister Is a Hardship"]

[Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] In your "Easter sermon" you used the parable of Peter and Judas. I am not certain that we managed to decipher this allegory correctly. Could you solve this puzzle for our readers?

[Meciar] The basic element of democracy is the citizen. He demonstrates his legitimate will through elections. At that time, he decides whom to entrust with representing him for the next four years. The citizens chose us because of our platform and the people who presented this platform. If someone rejects his responsibility today by deserting the platform and the movement charged with guaranteeing it and declares that he is independent and neutral, then he should at least be dependent on the citizen, who either preferred him or voted for the movement. Each election is a very costly affair. The cost per elected position comes to more than 300,000 korunas. For each party! So, does someone have the moral right to demand that a person pay the party or the movement that obtained a parliamentary membership for him if that person leaves the party? That, unfortunately, is the position of Milan Knazko, former Movement for a Democratic Slovakia deputy chairman. The other seven have not left the movement. They just want to be independent in regard to their own consciences. Nonetheless, they support our platform. Time will show who stays and who skips over to another one. Who knows how long their independence will last? There is another important point that I would like to point out. If we want to jointly stabilize the parliamentary system, we cannot do so by poaching deputies. That would bring us to parliamentary parties, which nobody voted for as they did not exist at the time of the elections. That is an obviously destabilizing element. If one is a moral person who feels responsible for what goes on in society, he should resign his mandate and seek a substitute. How fair would it be if a losing party in the elections won parliament seats after all? How much longer will this disintegration continue?

[NARODNA OBRODA] That apparently is the fate of all young democracies in which the internal structure and the natural hierarchy are not completely integrated. It happens when interests other than political and moral ones are in play. Apparently, it will take another 10 to 20 years before these structures are relatively stabilized.

[Meciar] One only needs to recall a certain gentlemen's agreement among the German political parties, which do not poach each other's deputies during the elections.

[NARODNA OBRODA] ...after the lamentable experience of the 1960s....

[Meciar] We, ourselves, are going to pay for this. The parties in Germany—which began to benefit from this—were destroyed by their own treacherous weapon. That happened in the very next elections. Therefore, they adopted the gentlemen's agreement defining a preelection deadline for transfers. Just as in sports. On principle, they do not change colors during the elections.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Perhaps there is not enough time?

[Meciar] Maybe, even a law.

[NARODNA OBRODA] A law would not solve anything.

[Meciar] The deputy can be suspended. Otherwise, the parties could be made responsible for covering the costs of the election campaign of that particular deputy.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Since we are discussing the internal affairs of the movement already, we will ask such a heretical question. Are you not afraid that the fate of Mrs. Thatcher might befall you or the other Western politicians, who lost the struggle in the womb of their own movement and had to leave their posts?

[Meciar] I am not worried in the least about this. As I see it from a purely personal point of view, to be a prime minister today brings with it a dose of hardship. Even the salary is not a very good argument. If such a development transpired in the movement, why fight this natural process? After all, nobody was born a chairman for life. The movement itself is not as incongruous as so many people think. There are two fundamental currents within the movement—a social one and a liberal one. Nevertheless, these two currents do not oppose each other. They overlap. I believe that it is precisely such movements and parties which have good prospects for the future as, from the point of development, the position of the social democracy was best when it had Communists on the left and the right wing on the right. The fall of the Communists deprived the social democracy of its role of tipping the scales, and it is falling everywhere. At the moment, it benefits the right wing, but the center, around which everything turns, is the partnership of the liberal and the social blocs. These two unified elements create a certain stability and even attempt to establish their international structure. The actual effort in this direction has been launched, the programs of the social democracies are being reassessed, and the right-wing parties include social elements in their platforms, so both blocs are gradually approaching the center. Our goal is to remain in this center that is represented by the relatively most stable component of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Prime Minister, does it have anything to do with the international economic recession?

[Meciar] Of course, the recession helps the right-wing parties. The socially oriented ones do better in times of economic growth. Although there is a recession today, I do not consider it a signal that one of these currents is definitely up or down, but rather that we are at a stage in a certain cycle that will be followed by the opposite trend. The recession disturbing the world means extra time for us to settle the fundamental issues. It also means a serious therapeutic regime. Like cutting off a diseased branch of a tree, it hurts the tree but cures it at the same time. Therefore, we too can come out of this process reinforced. That is, if we act so that we will leave just the healthy branches.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Can you tally up the healthy and the diseased branches? Is such an inventory possible?

[Meciar] Yes, it is possible. To be healthy in the economic sense means to be marketable. It means to have the equipment and the financial resources. If any of these factors is missing, help must be provided and recovery will follow. Many enterprises are viable. There are 148 enterprises lacking nothing but money. Obtaining credit automatically means opportunities for their recovery. Namely, they have a market and competitive technology. We cannot compete forever just by being cheap labor. First of all, the technology involved in the work must be changed, and this can be determined precisely even before we start the bankruptcy mechanism. We conducted the inventory.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Prime Minister, are the other parliamentary parties receptive to these theses of yours? Will they not make your life in parliament difficult concerning adoption of the government bills? Do you believe that they would not resort to a gradual recall of your ministers or, God forbid, to a vote of no confidence in the entire government?

[Meciar] That is irrelevant. The important thing is that the system works. On the surface, individual elements of the system can behave in any fashion they desire. If any political party advocates the policy that worse is better, it may easily get in the situation of being left with the worst. What will the party do about it? To provoke a conflict between the producers and the merchants is easy, but what should one do then? If we bring people into a strike mood and launch a wave of dissatisfaction, we must bear the consequences. We would be able to launch these mechanisms, too, and they would not confront the government. Why should we do this? That would just mean a loss of energy that might be transformed from creative to destructive energy. We are not denying the political parties in the parliament the right to evaluate individual members of the government. After all, we assess their work, too, and we are extremely critical when we do. Nevertheless, we take into consideration the conditions under which they work, and we consider the possibility and the expediency of their replacement. If the carriage is stuck in the mud, we cannot change the horses. Otherwise, it will become mired even deeper. A vote of no confidence in some members of the government can hardly help us get out of the mud. You should hear the criticism aimed at the ministers in our club when we are alone.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Prime Minister, what is the basis for your optimism when you speak about the cooperation of your movement with other parliamentary parties? Do you believe that your motions can be passed in the parliament?

[Meciar] Of course not every motion will be passed, even if we were in a coalition. We must differentiate, however, between the laws that are of primary importance and those of lesser importance. So far, we have directed the deputies on only three votes: the sovereignty, the Constitution, and the president. Otherwise they had a free hand in the club. The deputies just discussed there the voting procedure. They have not always reached consensus. That is the right of the club. The current political spectrum is rather contentious. There are, in effect, five groups in the parliament. If we consider the Slovak National Party platform, for instance, it directly contradicts those of the Coexistence [Movement] and the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement. Even if their leaders could personally contemplate a coalition or cooperation, they would, in the process, destroy their basis for membership. The idea of partnership between the Christian Democratic Movement and the Party of the Democratic Left is just as paradoxical. As soon as the Party of the Democratic Left announced that it would support the government, the Christian Democratic Movement saw it as a return to power by the Communists. If, however, the Party of the Democratic Left joined them, it would not be a return of the Communists. If we talk about the danger of a certain right-wing deviation, the danger we refer to does not derive from the floor of the parliament but rather from the extraparliamentary ground. If the trade unions assume the right to evaluate the government in speeches in city squares, they are actually expressing their lack of confidence in the parliament rather than in the government.

Basically, there are two explanations: Either they want to put pressure on the parliament before its session, or express their lack of confidence in the parliament. This contribution of the extraparliamentary institutions renders a mu'a greater risk. The conduct of the parties represents yet another danger that could seriously affect society. The thesis advocated by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and myself is that we have to make a full stop after the past. Those who discredited themselves under the old regime should not be allowed to hold leadership posts. At the same time, I have noticed that positions are being brought in the parliament which originate with the Club of Non-Aligned Activists in Bohemia, which would mean a debolshevization of the entire country. What would be the result? It would just lead to further segmentation. There would be more searching for the enemy. Hiding or launching personal wars or riots can result in two years of chaos, but not solve a single real problem. We will get the people to

argue again, inciting sharp exchanges based not on work results but rather on the past. I am concerned about this pressure and the possible entry of these forces into the parliament.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Is it at all reasonable to fear such pressures?

[Meciar] Yes, it is. The draft principles are in the parliament and being assessed by the committees.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Who initiated the draft? Do you believe that such a draft could be passed?

[Meciar] It will not pass only if the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia stops it. Unfortunately, if we did not stop it, it would pass. I can guarantee that. The Party of the Democratic Left would not be able to stop it alone. In such a case, it would be very easy to find an enemy and again accuse someone of the sins of the past. Do not take it, God forbid, as if I wanted to defend the Communists. This is something completely different. How should society be oriented, what approach should be chosen, and what targets should be set for the near future? That definitely is not the objective. Milan Knazko let this wave carry him for a while. At the presidential elections, he stood up against both Kovacs: Michal, because he was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia until 1969, and against Roman, because he was a candidate for membership for three or four months. That explains his platform andexplains his dissatisfaction. Moreover, he is not alone in this predicament.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Why were relations disrupted between the government and the trade unions? While you were in the opposition there was mutual support.

[Meciar] We have even placed the leading trade unionists on our election tickets and put them in the government. Among other reasons, this was done to maintain the good relations. The trade unions, however, perceive the facts of life. You might notice, however, that this perception is only one-dimensional somehow. They see the government as the root of all evil. Nevertheless, they did not accept, for instance, the government initiative to stabilize and guarantee the market and create jobs for our people. At least, they remained cool to the idea. Similarly, they did not accept the initiative launching recovery measures in every enterprise. The fate of the regional policy proposals was identical. The endeavors of the trade unionists to make high-level political decisions are becoming ever more obvious, and there is one point of convergence. That is the government, which is becoming the object of all dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, the government will remain the government even if its members are replaced. If this is the determining force in the trade unions, then it goes well beyond the struggle of the unions. In some matters, there are difficulties concerning the cooperation between the government and the trade unions. Wanting to launch the insurance company, we had to appoint its administrative body, composed of the representatives of the employers, trade unions, and the government. As soon as we formed this body, the trade unions moved that majority rule should rule in each component, i.e. that each component should be able to block the other two. They blocked the insurance system proposal In this manner and we ended in an impasse. Now, we must seek a solution in the realm of legislation. In addition to the one-dimensional perception, these steps might be a result of the selection of new union representatives or of the pressure from the people to whom the representatives want to offer some feasible options. Unfortunately, the solutions they see are outside the realm of reality in which the problems arise. I do not even wish to consider the possibility that interests of other entities, cleverly hiding under the facade of the trade unions, might be at the root of this.

[NARODNA OBRODA] After the elections you said that we have a wise government. Do you feel now—almost a year later—that there is something in this statement you might wish to change?

[Meciar] Every member of the government is as good as the mechanism behind him. He himself is not enough. My experience with the practice of government has convinced me that it does not take as long as six months before the apparatus changes the minister to conform to its own image. If the minister had the courage to change the apparatus and make the necessary changes immediately after the elections, he was able to avoid this. Unfortunately, not all ministers had this courage. Anyone can be sent to the Ministry of Education, and the apparatus will affect him as it did the current minister, and make his life just as difficult. Hence, quantitative changes alone—a staff reduction—do not suffice as rationalization measures. Qualitative changes must be implemented. This means that people with a different philosophy, with a different perception of qualifications, and universally useful, must join the state administration. Regarding the individual members of the cabinet, I can only say that undoubtedly each is a dignitary in his own right. They are all learned and labor to the limit of human physical endurance.

[NARODNA OBRODA] So, even after almost a year, you do not see any reason for a single change in your cabinet.

[Meciar] I am not saying that I do not see any chances of improvement. We were contemplating such possibilities in our club at the end of last week. We were assessing all the posts very critically. So far, however, the ideas have not led to the recall of any of our ministers. We will not give anybody a free ride. We have the courage to look truth in the eye and make the radical cuts. The proposal to recall Deputy Prime Minister Knazko was a very risky one. Moreover, we were well aware of the consequences of this change. Nevertheless, in the interest of the state, we decided to put this change above the interests of the movement. Hence, if an action should be taken, we will find enough strength to do it on our own.

[NARODNA OBRODA] This metaphor might be far-fetched, but do you not feel a bit like a Slovak de Gaulle? Just as when he was called upon by his country in a critical situation, you too are willing to come at any time, take up the government, and rule?

[Meciar] I would not want to compare myself with any politician. Nevertheless, it is true that it seems if I were built for crises. I am more resistant to them, both physically and mentally, than others. After that, I leave the day-to-day running of the regime to others. At this stage, however, as the critical situations—the ruts of which are very deep—eat away on society like cancer, I still can be useful. If I or the movement reach the conclusion that this is no longer so, it is the logical end of the road. For example, even the connotations of the division of the club—despite us knowing the names who who would leave as long ago as in [the movement assembly in] Trnava—can be assessed so that if I were elected by the assembly, the question of confidence in me should again be presented to the presidium. After all, part of the movement pulled out. That is not only a matter of the responsibility of those who left, but ours as well. We did not manage to keep them.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What would happen if our society, God forbid, reached such a stage of malignant disease that the tumorous affliction would actually spread? What if the social dissatisfaction in certain regions surpasses the point of endurance? What if unemployment continues to grow? What types of mechanisms do you consider effective for preventing the development of social storms?

[Meciar] We already did one thing. After all, since we have been in the government, the average [monthly] salaries have grown by 1,054 korunas. That is not insignificant. Is there another government in Europe that has done anything like this? We did. It was a result of cool economic calculations based on the assessment of the cheap labor and the need to restore demand. We abolished the regulation of wages. That means that those who have both sufficient demand and the markets are now able to operate and not pay mandated wages. At this time, the wages paid are not free market wages. Those are paid only in the private sector, and therefore the pay is higher there than in state enterprises. Another factor to be taken into account in the assessment of the possible danger of social unrest is the gradual stratification of society. Classes of super-rich and super-poor are forming. Of course, while the number of poor is growing, the number of rich people is not so large. We try, however, and, in the government we have adopted measures aimed at reinforcing the so-called middle class. We have begun to support its very emergence by various relief initiatives and other means. Society will remain stratified. Nevertheless, we must differentiate between poverty and the minimum necessary for existence. The government guarantees that it will not let anyone sink below this minimum. It can take from those who have more. It cannot let anyone sink below the minimum because once you get there, you have nowhere else to go. We must distinguish these poor people from the lumpen proletariat who live off the system. They never worked and do not want to, but they collect all the benefits provided by the state, and disproportionally at that....

[NARODNA OBRODA] ...even young people.

[Meciar] ...yes, even young people. We have to recognize the category that exists in Slovakia but it is generally not mentioned. At the same time, this category represents a real political and economic danger. It is the social class that developed from the use of dirty money. A simple increase in vigilance by the control authorities in the second half of 1992 prevented 2.5 billion korunas from leaking out of state funds. Nevertheless, this revelation does not deal with the essence of the problem. We observe the endeavors to take over the economy, either by means of personal contacts and position in certain institutions or by economic and non-political tools of market control. That is reality. We encounter this every day.

[NARODNA OBRODA] What specifically do you have in mind?

[Meciar] I am talking about the problems mostly originating from dirty money and tax evasion. Corruption is a greater danger than all the opposition votes in the parliament. It deforms the state administration to the point that it no longer performs the role for which it is responsible by law.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Does it flourish in your administration? How do you want to deal with it?

[Meciar] If I am to assess the situation, I would say that we have stepped on a snake's tail. We have not yet stepped on his head. So, the snake lives and can bite. It may be a poisonous and even fatal bite. Therefore, the institutions responsible for order must be revived. That means a revival of the police corps and of the office of the prosecutor. We suspect that some of the contacts even lead there. A completely unexplainable way of deciding on certain issues in the penitentiary system has transpired. Unfortunately, so far, there is no conclusive evidence. We even receive clear signals from abroad that show us what actually is happening here. There are reports, for instance, that banks do not have sufficient funds to grant loans unless someone's palm is greased. Then a loan presents no problem. We are studying the smuggling routes, which harm the customs administration. The authorities have been carrying out their duties either quickly or interminably, depending on the payoff that was made. It even happens in some central offices. Therefore, we must tighten control, empower the police, and make the Slovak Information Service units operable. I personally believe that it would be of great benefit to Slovakia to deal with this affliction as fast as possible. He who does not want to work in the state administration should leave. An Austrian businessman visited me recently and he took the liberty of confiding in me. He observed that my problems in Slovakia are not of a political nature. They are aware of the absence of any

other alternative, and there is no other politician here. Many understand that the selection of a major figure is not easy, and that at this time our choice is very limited. According to him, however, my problems can be directly linked to dirty money. Everywhere he went, people demanded a vow of silence from him—just so Meciar does not find out—and proposed two alternatives. One, that I close my eyes and pretend that I do not see the phenomenon, and two, that I grab my share of these profits and transfer it to my personal account. Since he knew, however, that it would bother my conscience, I could give the money to charity. I appreciate the idea per se, but I thanked the gentleman on the spot, as that is not my way of doing things. He replied, "if you do not listen to me, you will not last long."

[NARODNA OBRODA] That is so. It is a hydra that led Slovakia to where it is now....

[Meciar] A National Council of the Slovak Republic deputy comes to me and confides that he was offered 5 million korunas for the privatization of a single apartment. I beg him to give me a name as it is about time that someone got his knuckles rapped. He will not give me the name and make it public. So, what use is such information to me? Having learned that the police and revenue officers are being bribed, I proposed that they get a commission on their work. If you discover large-scale tax evasion, you can have 100,000 or even 500,000 korunas. After all, it is better if the state positively motivates people for the struggle against this affliction than if the government officials are bought by fraud so that they would actually gain control of the state. They would maneuver the political parties, parliament, and castle right out of the process. We have reached the dividing line where these two forces meet. The clash is gradual, and we want to consistently apply the strength of the state, the law, and the right of the citizen. They, in their turn, represent the power of the capital that slowly gnaws into everything here. If we lose this struggle, we lose everything.

Kovac Interviewed on U.S. Visit

AU3004122593 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 26 Apr 93 p 2

[Interview with President Michal Kovac by Juraj Veres, at Keflavik Airport, Iceland, on 23 April during a stopover en route from Washington to Bratislava: "A Nocturnal Interview in Iceland"]

[Text] [Veres] Mr. President, this trip is going to be analyzed in great detail after your return home. What are your feelings and impressions after your stay in the United States? Did this trip live up to your expectations?

[Kovac] I am glad to have had the honor of being able to get to know eminent Americans. True, the trip also had other reasons—economic and political ones. The visit's political goal was to introduce the Slovak Republic to the highest U.S. officials as a modern democratic state striving to further strengthen the democratic pluralistic system, as a state that is irreversibly building the market mechanism and that wants to be integrated into the European economic, political, and security structures. I believe that, in this regard, we managed to achieve a breakthrough in relations between the Slovak Republic and the United States.

[Veres] Was your meeting with Czech President Vaclav Havel in Washington planned, or was it an ad hoc affair? What did you discuss?

[Kovac] Following up on my visit to Prague and our subsequent telephone conversation, we reaffirmed our efforts to bring the talks between our two governments on the division of federal property to a conclusion, explained once again to one another the meaning of the zero and super-zero options, and, moreover, we exchanged experience from President Havel's and my talks in Washington. I can confirm that our interests are identical on many issues. There is therefore always something to discuss and areas where we can seek common approaches. The meeting had not been prepared previously; it was part of meetings with the presidents of other countries.

[Veres] Could you return to your meeting with President Clinton?

[Veres] The talk with President Clinton was significant for Slovakia. First, I conveyed the gratitude of the Slovak nation and of the citizens of the Slovak Republic for everything that the United States has done for democracy and freedom, to liberate mankind from fascist totalitarianism and to rid us of communist totalitarianism. Of course, I considered it necessary to also express gratitude for the understanding shown by the United States during the negotiations between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic on the division of Czechoslovakia and for the quick recognition of Slovakia under international law. I drew attention to the Slovaks' special attitude toward America, in view of the fact that, as early as during the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, American Slovaks had been waging a struggle to save the Slovak nation. I mentioned the significance of the Pittsburgh Agreement and the Americans' support for it, thanks to which the Czechoslovak Republic was founded in 1918. Of equal importance was that I was also able to introduce to the President present-day Slovakia and its efforts and problems and to ask for the president's support for these efforts. I invited the president to visit Slovakia on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising [in August 1994]. I drew his attention to the fact that U.S. citizens fought in the uprising alongside Slovaks and members of other nations and that we would like to commemorate this anniversary in the presence of the highest U.S. officials. President Clinton presented himself as a friend of Slovaks and spoke about his relationship with Slovaks. He said that he got to know them in the "Slovak" community on the day when American towns and rural communities celebrate Heritage Day, when he used to visit Slovak families. It was pleasant to find out that the

U.S. President knows relatively much about Slovakia. He wished the Slovak nation much success in its efforts and said that we could rely on his support and assistance.

[Veres] Did you notice any anti-Slovak bias during your talks in the United States?

[Kovac] I did not notice the existence of any prejudice about Slovakia in these talks. They view us as a new state and appreciate the peaceful manner in which Czechoslovakia was divided. They follow the further talks on the division of property and express the conviction that we will succeed in concluding the problems of property settlement in the same atmosphere and in the same [peaceful] manner, in which we accomplished a matter such as the division of the CSFR.

[Veres] You also visited the editorial office of THE WASHINGTON POST....

[Kovac] It was on the last day of my stay, and I consider this meeting important and politically significant because we were able to explain to THE WASHINGTON POST Editorial Board in a calm atmosphere what is happening in Slovakia today, what Slovakia is like, what sort of policy is being made in Slovakia, and what Slovakia wants. My impression is that they, too, received our explanation with understanding and that the staff of this major U.S. daily will in the future probably reassess the manner in which it provides information about Slovakia.

[Veres] When will you appoint the first Slovak ambassador to the United States?

[Kovac] I will try to appoint him as soon as possible.

[Veres] How did you react to the references to the fascist nature of Tiso's Slovak State and to the attempts both in Slovakia and among some emigre Slovaks to have Tiso rehabilitated?

[Kovac] I believe that we convinced our interlocutors that we dissociate ourselves from the regime at that time and from its policies and that this republic does not build on the regime of the former Slovak state but that it represents something new, something that, as I tend to say, was born in the womb of the Czechoslovak Federation. I stressed that the Slovak Republic was born in conditions of democracy and that both the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic were striving for the same things and had common aims. The same is true of our attitude toward the tragedy of the Slovak Jews. I reiterated our sincere regret over what happened to the Jews in Slovakia. This must never happen again.

Moravcik on NATO Membership, Other Issues

AU3004134293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 26 Apr 93 pp 1,11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by Milan Rusko en route from Washington to Bratislava on 24 April: "Not General Utterances, But Consistency"]

[Text] We asked Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, who accompanied President Michal Kovac on his visit to the United States, for an interview during the return flight from Washington. The interview concerned topical Slovak foreign policy issues.

[Rusko] You met with several American representatives. Slovakia's relationship with NATO was one of the issues discussed. How will this relationship evolve?

[Moravcik] We would like for some consideration to be given now to creating conditions for our future entry into the alliance. This means it is necessary to agree on them first. The next step would then be to determine their gradual fulfillment. This would not have to be complicated. It is a technical matter. The most important thing is to come to a political decision. Our role is to convince people that it is necessary to make such a decision now. As far as the NATO countries are concerned, this would mean that development in Central Europe—because we have always thought along Central European lines, that is, within the region defined by the Visegrad Group [Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland]—should proceed in a specific direction. Perhaps the members of the North Atlantic alliance would feel bound to help guarantee such development. Therefore, maybe they are reluctant to make such a decision immediately. I think such concern is unnecessary, however. This would involve, first and foremost, political support.

[Rusko] What is the American side's position?

[Moravcik] During our talks, the U.S. representatives showed interest in discussing these issues. For our negotiations to be more specific, we should draft a detailed plan for our gradual approach to NATO. We are beginning work on such a document. In any case, I think it would be in West Europe's interest if the area of stability were expanded to include Central Europe.

[Rusko] Will this not create the impression that Slovakia is threatened by American paternalism? Will relations regarding West Europe be balanced commensurately?

[Moravcik] I think that NATO membership by the Visegrad Group countries—which could take place approximately before, or no later than, these countries' acceptance into the EC—would help balance the interests of the United States and West Europe, because NATO is one form of U.S. presence in West Europe. In my opinion, we are not threatened by American paternalism if we do not encourage it ourselves. Our relationship with the United States through NATO cannot be confused with our relationship with the former USSR through the Warsaw Pact. Western civilization is founded on values that are also important to us. In other words, a small country can maintain its pride and sovereignty in decisionmaking if values such as freedom, democracy, protection of human rights, and so on are implemented.

[Rusko] Is a Slovak role in resolving the situation in the former Yugoslavia also envisioned in the event that the international forces engage in military activity?

[Moravcik] Slovak diplomacy is continuing where the former federal diplomatic efforts left off as far as the countries in this region are concerned. These activities are implemented within the CSCE framework, but the internal CSCE mechanisms are not capable of resolving the problems there. Therefore, more effective measures must be used. The world simply cannot stand by and allow the kind of horrors being perpetrated in Bosnia to continue, especially such a dangerous concept as ethnic cleansing. We experienced something similar to this prior to World War II when part of our territory was annexed. Therefore, I do not think we should stand idly by in this conflict, even if our participation is only symbolic.

[Rusko] You were present during President Michal Kovac's meetings with representatives from Jewish organizations. What are their views on the situation in the Jewish communities?

[Moravcik] Before the last war, more than 100,000 Jews lived in Slovakia (including Subcarpathian Ruthenia—Editor). Now the Jewish religious communities in the republic list just over 3,000. Therefore, the issue today does not involve their situation, because—in this regard—there are no fundamental reservations. The problem is how to overcome the historical mistrust that arose between Judaism and the state which exercises political authority now over the territory where Jews were persecuted and taken to their deaths. Contacts, like the ones during our president's visit to Washington, are absolutely essential. The basis for this—without which nothing could be achieved—is found in the qualities of the people in Slovakia. Slovaks demonstrated their aversion to violence by protecting Jews from being taken away. They eventually expressed this politically in the National Uprising. I am convinced that we will manage to overcome this mistrust. This is very important to us.

[Rusko] How do you, as foreign minister, see—on the basis of your recent visit to the United States—the role of the president in formulating foreign policy?

[Andrejcak] The president has neither the resources nor enough constitutional authority to formulate specific foreign policies. This must be done by the executive. He is, however, irreplaceable from the point of view of foreign policy stability. The president's term of office exceeds that of parliament. The president is apolitical and virtually unrecallable. In a word, the president has more lasting significance. The advantages of the presidency, however, can only be fully realized if cooperation with the executive is implemented and constantly renewed. Therefore, it is fully in the executive's interest to convince the president of the correctness of its foreign policy so he can present it.

[Rusko] What affect will the visit have on Slovak foreign policy?

[Moravcik] We have confirmed that we do not have anything that needs correcting. We have to adopt a much more consistent and pragmatic approach to implementing our policy. The time for general statements about where we are heading should already be definitely behind us.

Moravcik, Slovenia's Peterle Sign Agreement

LD3004195693 Prague CTK in English 1858 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Bratislava April 30 (CTK)—Slovak and Slovenian Foreign Ministers Jozef Moravcik and Lojze Peterle signed today in Bratislava an agreement on cooperation between their ministries.

The agreement is to bring a new quality into the two newly independent republics' relations, Peterle said at a briefing following the ministerial meeting.

The discussion focused mainly on the development of bilateral and multilateral relations, Peterle added.

The conflict in Bosnia must be settled with regard to the complicated situation in the former Yugoslavia's region and mainly to the Moslem national aspect, Peterle said. He himself believes that the Bosnian republic will survive.

Moravcik stressed that ethnic purges had to be prevented. However, the process of settling the conflict will continue for several generations, he added.

In the morning, Peterle met with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, but journalists were given no details on the meeting. Peterle also met with Slovak President Michal Kovac and Economic Minister Jaroslav Kubecka.

Police Discover Illegal Arms Trade Operation

AU2904142293 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Apr 93 p 2

["pa"-signed report: "An Excellent Police Catch"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday on the Slovak Television evening news program "Aktuality," it was disclosed that the Slovak Republic Police Corps successfully prevented a group of enterprising Slovak individuals from gaining riches through illegal sales of fire arms without the required police registration. These weapons are sought after in criminal and terrorist circles all over the world.

Major Peter Vacok, LL.B., of the Bratislava Regional Investigation Office of the Slovak Republic Police Corps, provided television correspondents with additional details. "The Bratislava Regional Investigation Office of the Slovak Republic Police Corps is currently investigating a vast criminal enterprise regarding the

illegal possession of arms. The illegal enterprise focused on trade with handguns. A certain Presov [Slovakia] firm was purchasing the arms in Ceska Zbrojovka in Uhersky Brod [Czech Republic]. The firm has been illegally selling these arms to unauthorized people. Approximately 1,800 guns have been sold in Slovakia and the Czech Republic this way. The culprits managed to dispatch some of the arms outside the Slovak territory. The weapons passed into unauthorized hands and are now being used in serious crimes. We have managed to secure some of them, and the other arms are gradually being seized even outside the Slovak territory. One of the guns was used to commit a murder in Poland. Some of the arms were even seized in Sweden, Germany, and the Czech lands." The registration and the necessary ballistic tests continue at the Criminal Investigation and Expert Opinion Institute of the Slovak Republic Police Corps in Bratislava.

Report on Antall-Kravchuk News Conference

LD3004205993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Istvan Kulcsar reports on the news conference given by the Hungarian prime minister and the Ukrainian president in Uzhgorod:

[Kulcsar] At the beginning of the news conference which followed the talks the two statesmen, first Jozsef Antall and then Leonid Kravchuk, made brief statements.

[Begin recording] [Antall] The Ukrainian-Hungarian basic treaty will go before parliament next week and I believe that it will be ratified. [passage omitted] We regard as significant the progress made in the issue of Sub-Carpathia's special economic status and in the achievements regarding the situation of the Hungarian minority with special regard to the issue of personal autonomy, the taking of practical steps in the issue of cultural autonomy. We agreed to prepare Hungarian-language textbooks jointly and we will examine the possibility of perhaps using even Hungarian textbooks temporarily in the Hungarian-language schools. [passage omitted]

[Kravchuk in Ukrainian fading into Hungarian translation] A short time has elapsed since we declared our extensive cooperation. During this short time both the Hungarian side and our Ukrainian experts, as well as politicians from other countries, have studied this initiative in detail. During this period the initiative has gotten richer, it has been made more complete, and I have to note that today Mr. Premier Antall came forward with a series of ideas. I think that we will consider these ideas before the initiative is put into its final form. The most significant of these is that we do not want to restore the Warsaw Pact in any form. We do not want to separate the issues of our security from the general European security issues.

Third, we are striving to create close cooperation with the NATO countries, and fourth, that none of the countries, including Russia—for there has been a great deal of disputes around this issue lately—should think that we want to separate from them. We want our security to be guaranteed. We would like that we all build and develop our countries' security individually and peacefully. We strengthen our countries' economies and strive for the security of our interests and goals. [end recording]

After this a Ukrainian correspondent asked Premier Jozsef Antall if various Hungarian internal political factors or problems affected Hungarian-Ukrainian ties in a negative way. The Hungarian head of government answered the following:

[Begin Antall recording] We fought in Hungarian politics to achieve democracy. And criticism, great debates come with democracy. [passage omitted] The question is how parliament will decide in the end. I think that these debates and this criticism do not concern Ukrainian-Hungarian ties. There is accord between the Hungarian political parties and Hungarian policy that we are pleased that Ukraine is our neighbor. We are interested in the existence of an independent, sovereign Ukraine. Our entire policy so far has been aimed at it and since we took government in 1990 we have been fostering relations with the Ukrainian Government in this sense, too.

What can be debated does not concern the whole of Ukrainian-Hungarian ties. Hungarian policy has general principles and directives in central European and European issues, too, which it adheres to. A general European recognition of the independent, sovereign Ukraine is also in Hungary's interest. We support it and beside this we of course put great emphasis on human and minority rights and this regards Ukrainian-Hungarian ties, too. Here we agreed with President Kravchuk at the talks we held in the past years. I am convinced that today we made further progress in this area. [end recording]

The Hungarian News Agency correspondent asked about other topics of the talks, and was intereseted in knowing why today's talks lasted longer than originally planned. The question was answered first by the Ukrainian head of state, then the prime minister added a few words:

[Begin recording] [Kravchuk] We discussed a range of topics, which are related to the life of Hungary and of Ukraine, and we also reviewed the significant international events. The essence of our talks is that the in the joint statement on the talks to be signed and in the topics raised in the course of the talks, full agreement has been achieved in the field of the provision and protection of minority rights, as well as in the questions about bilateral relations, the Yugoslav crisis, and relations within the CIS.

During the talks we carried on the topics of the talks held in Kiev and Budapest, and we assessed the former relations based on agreements. Our talks were very sincere and friendly, as is usual between the heads of neighboring states. I have to tell you that the document which will be signed soon will play an important part in the strengthening of our ties, and it will mutually deepen the understanding of the processes that are going on presently in Ukraine and Hungary. I sincerely hope that the basic treaty between our countries will soon be ratified by the Hungarian parliament. [passage omitted]

The only reason why the talks lasted longer is that my partner in the conversation, Prime Minister Antall is a very pleasant partner and we had a long and interesting conversation. This is the only reason, and not that some sort of conflict emerged between us.

[Antall] I also think that the reason why the talks lasted longer was that parallel talks had been going on, and we reviewed a very wide range of issues in every respect, in the course of which our delegations, headed by the foreign ministers, had talks on specific isssues related to security and others. So I ask you to consider these parallel talks as an example of good organization, which is not always characteristic of this part of Europe. We were good organizers and we trusted our foreign ministers. [end recording]

Agreement Signed With Romania on Border Traffic

LD2904161393 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Budapest, April 29 (MTI)—Waiting times at border crossings will be cut by a mutual border-guard and customs agreement Hungary and Romania concluded in Biharkeresztes today.

Border controls will be simplified on both sides and, if necessary, pedestrian traffic will be temporarily suspended.

A new checking system will be introduced at Nagylak, Gyula, and Csengersima allowing a minimum of eight trucks to cross in each direction per hour. The agreement provides for the passage of not less than 100 trucks an hour through Artand-Bors.

Border posts will notify each other of traffic increases, with newspapers advising passengers on alternative crossing routes.

A border station at Mehkerek-Salonta will open this year, and the Artand-Bors crossing will be reconstructed on Romania's side.

The protocol containing the cooperation terms was signed by Customs and Excise Office National Commander Brigadier General Mihaly Arnold and National Border Guard Commander Brigadier General Balazs Novaky for Hungary, and by Deputy Finance Ministry State Secretary Mihai Panzariu, head of Romania's Chief Custom Directorate, and Colonel Joarza Samoila, Interior Ministry passport and border police general director, for Romania.

Jeszenszky Views Relations With Romania

AU2904153793 Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 27 Apr 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Laszlo Szekely in Budapest; date not given: "We Will Not Sign an Agreement Without Considering the National Minorities—Exclusive Interview With Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky"]

[Text] Hungarian foreign policy is determined from 47 Bem Quay, a building overlooking the Danube and the Parliament building and was originally the home of the Royal Audit Office.

Jeszenszky receives me in his large office. I know that he is a historian and a university lecturer, so I begin my list of questions in respect from the recent past.

Missed Opportunity

[Szekely] The change that took place in Romania at the end of 1989 provided a historic opportunity for Hungarian-Romanian conciliation and for normalizing and settling relations. We know that this unique opportunity was left unexploited. In your view, is it just the Romanian side, the Romanian nationalists, and the extremists who can be blamed for this, those who regularly mislead the naive, stating that Hungary is endangering Romania's territorial integrity?

[Jeszenszky] I believe that a self-critical answer always sounds better and I am quite ready for self-criticism. I am also self-critical in regard to the Hungarian historical past and I see frequent parallels between misadventure and misjudgments. Therefore, if we look at the history of Hungarian-Romanian coexistence and living next to each other, I am prepared with all probability to admit that the Hungarian side also made mistakes. Regarding the events following the 1989 change, however, I cannot say anything other than my conviction that, indeed, it was a big opportunity missed, as you also said. I myself always emphasize this. I was a witness and, to a very small extent, a participant in this drama. At that time, I was leading the Foreign Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]. We tried to convince the Hungarian Foreign Ministry leadership of that time to take firmer action, and we talked to foreign politicians to help the Romanian revolution. Therefore, all that happened at that time was my personal experience and the events since then have been my personal disappointment.

As for the events in Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] in March 1990, this situation indicated that forces whose sole purpose was to torpedo this conciliation began to operate or were given free rein. Perhaps Romanian society was not strong enough to avert this. I well remember the Romanian people who welcomed the Hungarian aid convoys, and at that time I really believed that we were witnessing a historical cataclysm that had changed people's way of thinking. I still believe that we would be in a completely different situation if the Romanian leadership had continued that attitude.

I do not want to overemphasize this or the issue of responsibility because, unfortunately, this is over now, the opportunity is gone and cannot be brought back.

The Atmosphere of the Meeting in Gyula Was Good

[Szekely] Let us take a step forward in history then. Did the Gyula meeting have any positive affect on bilateral relations? Compared to the period before the talks, are the chances of settling the unresolved issues better?

[Jeszenszky] I attribute rather significant importance to the Gyula meeting, and this is not only because it created so much interest, especially in Hungary. I call particular attention to the fact that, in addition to the expectations in Hungary and that the journalists might have suspected sensationalism, this interest also indicates the extent

Hungarian society would welcome radically changed and improved Romanian-Hungarian relations. I, and probably my Romanian colleague, was surprised by the large number of journalists. There must have been about 100. A large international meeting in Budapest is not attended by this many journalists.

In addition, the atmosphere of the meeting was good, and I am very happy that this little celebration of the Romanians in Hungary created an opportunity for the meeting, and that, through this, we managed to demonstrate—and this has been my policy over the past three years—that Hungary respects the minorities living on its territory, supports them in every possible way, and it takes something that has only been a slogan in the past decades very seriously, namely, that the minorities are a connecting link. The writer Rebreanu was a good example of this because he wrote in two languages. He reminds us of an era—and it is not nostalgia that makes me say this—when a Romanian living in Hungary was indeed able to prosper there. We have to build on these connections and traditions.

Well, this was the background. Political talks are always influenced by the atmosphere. This was quite favorable, but this is not enough.

Naturally, we could not go into every detail during the negotiations. In addition to the fact that—although we had met and negotiated before—this was our first true long meeting, this also gave both sides a chance to clearly see the current position of the partner. I very much hope that Foreign Minister Melescanu became convinced that the Hungarian Government is very determined, and this can also be acceptable for Romania. He was able to assess the Hungarian view on what is required for establishing the background, the need for which is also often emphasized by my Romanian colleague.

Many Believed Ceausescu

[Szekely] You mentioned that you had met Melescanu a number of times. In Gyula, you had a chance for lengthy conversation. What was your impression of him as a politician and as a person?

[Jeszenszky] I do not know if the reason is that Melescanu was born in Transylvania....

[Szekely] He keeps emphasizing this....

[Jeszenszky] By all means, one of the reasons I consider him suitable for promoting rapprochement is that he grew up in a partly Hungarian environment. He said that he spoke quite good Hungarian in his childhood. Therefore, I think that he has a personal interest in trying to understand the Hungarian viewpoint better, in understanding that Romania is a multinational country—although they do not like to say this—and that in Romania, too, satisfied national minorities are necessary for stability. Melescanu is aware of the facts.

The Ceausescu era hid the facts from the Romanian people and very many Romanians had no idea that there was a considerable Hungarian population living in Romania. This was in the same way as people in the CSFR did not know how many Hungarians were living in their country. This also plays a role in the current extreme reactions. As we say, Hungarian society was shocked by Marosvasarhely and, of course not in the same way, but I can imagine that the existence of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—UDMR in Romanian] and its very stable base of support was also a big shock to certain sections of Romanian society. Many people thought—they had believed Ceausescu—that Romania was a homogeneous state.

The Border Issue—A Nonexistent Problem

[Szekely] What is your view of the Romanian position, which states that signing the bilateral basic agreement is an essential condition for settling and developing Romanian-Hungarian relations? Does this position contain an intent to create a fetish?

[Jeszenszky] This is precisely the case! I also normally say that two issues are unreasonable and, from certain points of view, impossible to understand. One is that everything is made conditional on the basic agreement and one particular issue, the border issue—which is not a real issue—is emphasized within that. The new Hungary has never raised this, it has no territorial demands, and we recognize and respect the peace treaty. An internationally signed peace treaty is a much stronger document than any bilateral declaration or agreement.

The other thing is, and I said this to Melescanu in Gyula, that an agreement has to be the culmination of good bilateral relations. First, the foundation has to be laid and the walls have to be erected. This can be done quickly, through the use of modern technology it is possible to build things very quickly. Obviously, goodwill is absolutely necessary for this! However, the agreement has to express the existence of an intense relationship involving some kind of trust, and that the basic bilateral issues have been resolved. For example, England and France still had very bad relations at the beginning of the 20th century. They made an agreement on their existing problems in 1904, the entente cordiale. This did not mean any kind of alliance, but through resolving the disputed issues, the formerly very antagonistic relations were transformed within a few years into what was actually a very intimate alliance.

Hungarian-Romanian relations have some unresolved problems. The point is that, according to the view of many people, the Hungarians in Romania have very just wishes and very precise ideas about their wishes, and these ideas are considered justified by many observers in the world, not just us. If a solution is found to these issues and if the Hungarians in Romania become satisfied—this indeed is the only real obstacle—then making an agreement will make sense. We have said a hundred

times that we will not make an agreement against the wishes of the national minorities and going above their heads, because this would be hypocritical.

This also applies to the oft-mentioned high-level meetings. As a matter of fact, we have had many high-level meetings at various international gatherings, some of them in Hungary, and these can be continued. We could also consider continuing the unofficial Gyula dialogue in an official forum. In our view, we are beyond getting to know each other, we know each other very well. We have meetings from time to time with the leaders of many countries to get to know each other and to inform the other side of our views. In the case of Romania, we know the other side's thoughts, fears, intentions, and hopes inside out. Here we need a breakthrough. This means that if they hold real negotiations with the Hungarians of Romania and a common agreement can be reached on the issues raised by these Hungarians, then we will be able to make any kind of agreement with a clear conscience.

[Szekely] To me this means that any high-level meeting has to be carefully prepared for so that it can have concrete results. Has the Hungarian position changed in this respect?

[Jeszenszky] No, it has not. I would like to emphasize that this is not a matter of establishing one or two conditions. We would like to see the willingness for a solution and for progress. Negotiations are worthwhile if they are dialogues rather than monologues, and if they can lead to results.

[Szekely] The Romanian side claims that the Hungarian side does not have the willingness. It expects the Hungarian side to take the position required by the Romanian side on the border issue, which is to recognize the borders as they are now for once and for all.

[Jeszenszky] On the one hand, Hungary accepted the borders in 1947 and we have made many statements in this spirit ever since. We also have international agreements, such as the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter. therefore, this is an isolated element of bilateral relations which is an artificial and nonexistent problem. As a matter of fact, realistically, Romania has no need to be afraid of Hungary solely because of the difference in size between the two countries.

I would also refer to something else. I recently recalled the 1958 Transylvanian trip of [former Communist Party leader] Janos Kadar, when he made similar statements. This was followed—I do not know if by coincidence—by another wave of attempts to reduce the rights of Hungarians, which culminated in closing the Hungarian university in Kolozsvar [Cluj]. Hungarians are not in the moral position to assume such a risk. When the Hungarians living there have institutional assurances of their rights, then we will even be able to think about new language. Actually, the entire border issue is only a small part of the peace treaties. The agreements on minority protection were a very important part of the 1919 peace treaties, for example. They were part of the peace system, and Romania also signed these. Economic relations were also outlined in the peace treaties.

Therefore, the border issue is not the sore point of bilateral relations at all. I have already mentioned the national minority issue and, in addition to this, practical cooperation is the real test of good relations.

[Szekely] As a journalist, I know from experience that in both countries, rather than being much interested in whether the basic agreement will be signed, the average person is interested in when the promised new border crossing points will be opened, if the customs officers will work more efficiently and politely, and if measures will be taken to ease the operations of Romanian-Hungarian joint ventures, which are all practical problems.

[Jeszenszky] I understand this very well, and this is why I have been urging the establishment of new border crossing points since I became a minister. As a matter of fact, these are not new crossing points, since they operated between the two world wars. In that period, border traffic was many times bigger than it is now and it was simpler to cross the border. It is true that people could be allowed to cross the existing one much faster and this would not impede the necessary controls. Have a look at how many cars are allowed through the Austrian-Hungarian and the Romanian-Hungarian borders in an hour. Therefore, this is not just a matter of organization, it is basically a question of goodwill. We pay a lot of attention to this, too.

I very much hope that the progress we expect on this issue will be forthcoming. We would like to make the crossing points that were opened at Easter permanent. This can even be seen as a good dress rehearsal, and I am especially happy that Romania was ready to open these quickly.

Something Always Happens

[Szekely] How would you comment on President Ion Iliescu's statement in his interview with the Kolozsvar [Cluj] television's Romanian department, where he said "if the political will exists,, it is not difficult to agree on the text of the Romanian-Hungarian basic agreement?" Is this true?

[Jeszenszky] I would say it the other way around: If the Romanian political will exists for satisfying the just needs of the Hungarian minority in Romania and dissuading their worries about the future, then it will be very easy to come to an agreement on the text of the basic agreement and, what is much more important, a positive and lasting Romanian-Hungarian relationship could be established immediately.

[Szekely] I know from Foreign Minister Melescanu that you were invited to visit Bucharest soon at a time convenient for you. Will this visit be possible? If so, when?

[Jeszenszky] I have already indicated that I also am happy to continue the dialogue in a different framework. Over the past three years, we often had moments when I thought that a date for the visit could be set, but something always happened which, for me, basically made this impossible. We also have an issue at the moment that stirred up the emotions of Hungarians living on the Szeklers' land.

In Romania, too, decisions are made in many areas, and sometimes my impression is that—this might not be a conscious process—when a thaw starts in the area of foreign affairs, then something happens in another area. At other times, we have had results in other areas, such as military cooperation, and then another ministry makes things difficult. It is very important to have a common goal here. In Hungary, every citizen and every ministry wishes to improve bilateral relations and deepen cooperation. Unfortunately, something always happens in Romania which slows the progress developing in our relations.

Ruling Party Finances Show Deficit

AU3004125593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Apr 93 p 4

[MTI report: "The Hungarian Democratic Forum Has A Deficit"]

[Text] The 1992 financial balance of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] showed a deficit of 2.6 million forints resulting from an income of 430,268,000 forints and expenses of 432,933,000 forints. This transpires from the financial balance published in the MAGYAR KOZLONY [HUNGARIAN GAZETTE].

In 1992, the MDF had an income of 10.2 million forints from membership fees, and 245 million forints from the budget. The so-called other contributions made up 36.7 million forints. In 1992, the MDF was supported by Befor Ltd with 12.7 million forints, Ferenc Deak Foundation with 6.4 million forints, Lakitelek Foundation 5.3 million forints, and Euro-Hungaria Foundation with 1.5 million forints. A total of 1.5 million forints flowed in the party budget from private persons. Income from propaganda activity stood at 1.5 million forints, and income from the party's business activities stood at 244,000 forints. An additional amount of 136 million forints flowed into the party budget under unspecified incomes.

As for expenses, personnel expenditure—wages, social security expenses, daily allowances—made up 101 million forints. Expenses included 10.7 million forints paid to public organizations, and 3.1 million forints paid to foreign institutions, organizations, and persons. Press and propaganda expenses made up 62.7 million forints, and election campaign expenses made up 18.1 million forints. The so-called general expenses—taxes, fees, building maintenance, rentals—made up a total of 147.7 million forints. A total of 86.6 million forints were spent on other activities.

Polish Aid Convoy Leaves for Macedonia

LD2904192393 Warsaw PAP in English 1736 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Krakow, April 29—A convoy of four trucks with 50 tonnes of food, medicine and clothes for Macedonia organized by the Polish-French Equilibre Organization on Thursday left Krakow for Skopje.

23 Poles, truck drivers and employees of the Equilibre, are expected to reach Skopje on May 1 to join another convoy coming from France. The destination of the Polish-French peace convoy has been changed at the last moment from Kosovo to the capital of Macedonia, Skopje.

The change was caused by the refusal to grant entry visas to French participants in the convoy by the authorities of the new Yugoslavia.

Intellectuals from Germany, France, Great Britain and Poland are scheduled to meet in Skopje on May 3, following an initiative by the Equilibre, to discuss charity aid for the former Yugoslavia. Senator Zofia Kuratowska, deputies Jozefa Hennelowa and Piotr Nowina-Konopka and President of Warsaw Stanislaw Wyganowski volunteered to take part in the meeting.

Sweden, Poland To Increase Bilateral Cooperation

LD3004170393 Warsaw PAP in English 1531 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Visiting Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt on Friday met with Minister for Contacts with the European Communities Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Speakers of the Sejm and Senate Wieslaw Chrzanowski and August Chelkowski, respectively, to discuss issues related to bilateral cooperation between the two countries, especially in the area of the Baltic Sea.

At a press conference, concluding his visit to Poland, Bildt pointed to the importance of Polish-Swedish economic relations, the protection of environment and the need for strengthening political dialogue also as far as international matters are concerned.

He also stressed the role the development of small and medium- size enterprises plays in Polish-Swedish relations, recalling that Sweden is the third biggest foreign investor in Poland with over 400 Polish-Swedish joint-ventures already established.

In his belief, Swedish banks should grant credit guarantees to entrepreneurs willing to invest in Poland to help develop mutual economic contacts. In doing so they need cooperation on the part of Polish banks with the ever increasing participation of private banks.

Explaining the causes of delay in enforcing the Poland-EFTA [European Free Trade Association] free-trade agreement, planned to be binding as of April 1, Bildt said that negotiations on specifying conditions for equal access of Polish goods to EFTA markets are still underway.

The ecoconversion of Polish debt Bildt saw as a possibility for gaining funds for environment protection. He announced that a meeting of experts in environment protection will be held in Stockholm in the coming weeks.

May Day Rally Held in Warsaw

LD0105114593 Warsaw PAP in English 1043 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Warsaw, May 1—Over five thousand people joined the Warsaw May Day march organized by the all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) and the Polish Socialist Party which passed through the city's streets on Saturday.

The march was also joined by members of the Social Democracy of Republic of Poland, the Union of Polish Socialist Youth and representatives of the Union of Polish Communists "Proletariat."

Draft Constitution Submitted to Committee

AU0305100993 Warsaw PAP in English 1503 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—The presidential draft constitution, submitted to the National Assembly Constitutional Committee today, aims to establish a presidential-parliamentary system in which the president would play a vital role, deputy head of the Presidential Chancellery Lech Falandysz told journalists.

Under the draft, the president would be at the head of the executive branch. He would be able to appoint the prime minister, and other ministers. He would also be able to dismiss the head of the Cabinet Office.

The government would be responsible to the president and not to parliament. The Sejm (lower house), however, if dissatisfied with the cabinet's policy, would be able to take a no-confidence vote in the government. The president would have the right to rule by decrees.

The draft also envisages a possibility of dissolving parliament by the president without stating specific conditions.

Falandysz added that the dissolution of parliament could mean new presidential elections.

He said that the draft constitution did not include a chapter concerning civil rights and freedoms which were covered by a presidential draft charter of rights and freedoms.

At a meeting with members of a team that have worked out the presidential draft constitution, Walesa said that

the adoption of a new constitution should be accompanied by new parliamentary elections and followed by presidential elections.

Meanwhile, the parliamentary floor group of the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) and the circle of the Union of Labour (UP) forwarded their joint draft constitution to the National Assembly's Constitutional Committee.

Friday midnight is the deadline for submitting draft constitutions to the Committee. Twelve hours before the deadline there were five drafts filed with the Committee: proposed by the Senate, the Democratic Left Alliance, the Democratic Union, a joint draft worked out by PSL and UP, and the presidential draft.

Aleksander Luczak of the PSL and Janusz Szymanski of the UP told a press conference that the draft constitution prepared by their parties was based on the principle of maintaining balance between different branches of political authority and it gave a strong position to local government.

The authors of the draft proposed a one-chamber parliament.

Szymanski said that the draft envisages "parliamentary democracy and guarantees rights for the executive branch."

Under the draft, the president would have to forward a motion to the Sejm to dismiss the prime minister while the government and its programme would be accepted by the Sejm. The government would not have the right to rule by decrees.

"We do not want the situation in which the state would be based on atheistic principles but we are not seeking a form of a theocratic state, either," Luczak said.

The authors of the draft said that besides civil freedoms the draft envisages guarantees of social rights.

Also today, the rightist nationalist Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) issued its own draft proposals, under which it is proposed to create a mixed presidential-parliamentary system. Presenting the KPN draft, the party deputy leader Krzysztof Krol noted that "the guarantee of a good constitution lies in the fact that it should not be written for specific persons or for a specific political system."

Under the KPN proposals, a new Sejm would be instituted, divided into a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. The Sejm would comprise 444 members directly elected, while the Senate would comprise 105 directly-elected members, and also 7 ministers and 12 provincial governors nominated by the president.

The rightist-oppositional Centre Alliance (PC), in its draft, supports the idea of a presidential system along French lines, with a democratically-elected president standing at the head of the executive branch of government, with the power to nominate and dismiss the prime minister, and also individual ministers. PC leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that the PC draft also envisages a wide range of guaranteed citizens rights.

In total, seven draft constitutions have been submitted to the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly.

Sejm Approves Privatization Plan

LD3004163093 Warsaw PAP in English 1502 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday passed with 215 votes to 178 and 22 abstentions the Law on National Investment Funds and their Privatization.

The parliamentary floor groups of the Democratic Union, the Polish Liberal Programme and the Polish Convention unanimously voted for the law while deputies from other caucuses were divided in their voting.

The adopted law is a new version of the government-proposed mass privatization programme rejected by the chamber on March 19.

The bill was considered by the Sejm as urgent which means that the Senate (upper house) has to present its stand on the law in a week's time and the president also has a week for signing it.

The new law creates conditions necessary for the privatization of 600 state enterprises and facilitates the participation of adult citizens in the privatization process. The law guarantees voluntary participation of enterprises in the programme.

Commenting on the vote, Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski said he waited two years for this moment. Lewandowski, the chief architect of the bill, attributed the Sejm victory of the government coalition to its determination, discipline among the parliamentary floor groups supporting the cabinet, and a compromise reached with some segments of the opposition.

Lewandowski said the law would make it possible to privatize and restructure hundreds of state firms and make further headway in Polish economic reforms as well as enable citizens to become property owners.

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said that Friday's vote on the mass privatization programme would strengthen the ruling coalition and was an important step in reforming the economy.

Leader of the Liberal Democratic Congress Donald Tusk denied speculations that left-wing votes which helped push the bill through parliament would have potential consequences for the future of political alliances in Poland. Of the 55 left-wing deputies who cast their votes Friday 28 were for, 17 against and 10 abstained.

President Lech Walesa asked on Friday in Poznan to express opinion on the results of Friday's voting said, "I

am glad that the solutions which have been worked upon for such a long time will see the light of day."

Simultaneously, as a worker, as the one who was delegated by workers I think that we will find possibilities for ordinary people who have no money and for resourceful people who display initiative to join the privatization process, added the president.

1993 Assessed as First Year of Economic Growth

LD0105135693 Warsaw PAP in English 1330 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Krosno, May 1—Polish Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski meeting with entrepreneurs from the Krosno region, south-eastern Poland, on Saturday, said that in two, three years, the year 1993 will be assessed as the first year of economic growth and the last year of the growth of unemployment.

According to Goryszewski economic results of the first three months of this year confirmed that 1992 saw the halt of economic downfall. He stressed that the improvement of the economic condition is closely linked with the political stabilization in Poland.

The deputy premier expressed a conviction that unemployment in Poland should drop in 1993 and not exceed three million people adding that he expects the start of a slow process leading to the creation of new job places.

Goryszewski also listed a number of alarming phenomena appearing in Poland's economy, including the downfall of the competitiveness of Polish goods, the downfall of profitability and the increase of wages. He expressed the opinion that those symptoms should be eliminated as they may lead to an increase of budget expenditures and the rise of costs of imports.

Industrial Production Increases by 5.5 Percent

LD3004220193 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Industrial production rose by 5.5 percent in the first quarter of 1993, compared with the same period in 1992, Chairman of the Central Statistical Office (GUS) Jozef Olenski said during a press conference held on Friday.

Production increases were recorded in 16 industrial branches, the largest being in the ship-building industry (over 50 per cent). A 36 per cent rise was also recorded in the production of transportation means. Olenski linked the increase with the start of production of the Cinquencento passenger car by the FSM Small Car Plant.

According to Olenski, the construction branch continues to suffer from deep recession which hit state as well as city housing enterprises. Farmers found themselves in a similar difficult situation. The fall of prices for slaughter animals combined with increasing prices for fodder caused the decrease of profitability of pork fat-stock.

The GUS chairman also stressed the unfavourable situation in Poland's foreign trade balance. During the first three months of this year, imports were higher than exports by 380 million dollars.

As for the currency market, Olenski said that the situation was stable. The increase in the dollar exchange rate was 5.4 per cent slower than the growth in retail prices.

Mayors' Conference Discusses Reform

AU0305101193 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Poznan, April 30—President Lech Walesa told the national conference of city presidents, town mayors and commune heads today that "it is in communes and villages that the future of Poland is decided."

Walesa stressed that the state needed effective government and a strong local government. He called on representatives of local governments to take matters into their own hands. The appeal met with criticism of some mayors with one of them asking "how should we do it when legislation is not in our hands?"

The three-day conference, held in Poznan is discussing the reform of the state administration and the role of the local government in it.

Head of the Cabinet Office Jan Maria Rokita emphasized that the government needed partners in parliament and local government for the reform of public administration to succeed.

"Only by joining the forces of government, local government and pro-reform political forces will we be able to give the reform a proper dynamics," he said.

Rokita stressed that the state cannot be built on the antagonism between the government and local governments.

The government's plenipotentiary for the reform of public administration, Minister Michal Kulesza, briefed the conference on the progress of work on the state administration reform.

Iliescu on Karadzic Acceptance of Peace Plan

AU0205162593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1551 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/5/1993—I felt satisfaction at the news that Radovan Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen plan, Romanian President Ion Iliescu told a ROMPRES writer on the phone.

I think that is a very important political moment as it opens the way for a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Let's hope that the decision will be confirmed by the parliament of the Serbian community of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hail this step towards stability in Yugoslavia and the Balkans as a whole, added President Iliescu.

Iliescu Discusses Reform, Foreign Issues

AU3004092693 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 26 Apr 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Cristian Tudor Popescu aboard the presidential aircraft during Iliescu's return from Washington on 23 April: "There Is No Way Back"]

[Text] [Popescu] Mr. President, I would like to begin with an odd question, but the issue has been extensively speculated on by a Romanian weekly published here [in the U.S.] after the CNN cameraman showed a clos-up you. Why did you—and you alone, among all the dignitaries who were present—wear the traditional Jewish skullcap during the inauguration ceremony of the Holocaust Memorial?

[Iliescu] Because I was cold. As yourself, I do not have much hair any more and I had the skullcap I received in the Bucharest Coral Temple by me. As I felt quite chilly and it was raining... As a matter of fact, at a certain moment Elie Wiesel also put on a similar cap...

[Popescu] As far as I know, during the meeting you had with members of the American Jews' Association, you asserted that you would take measures against the extremist periodicals [in Romania].

[Iliescu] The presidency cannot take measures to that effect, but I have already requested that the prosecutor's office should examine the ways in which such cases should be brought to court.

[Popescu] Which cases?

[Iliescu] Such as that of Mr. Ilie Neacsu of the weekly EUROPA [EUROPE], whose vocabulary is absolutely intolerable and who speaks of no less than the re-establishment of the Iron Guard movement [Romanian Fascist organization before and during World War II].

[Popescu] How would you assess President Clinton's disposition over the past days?

[Iliescu] As open and well-meaning. President Clinton has made extraordinary efforts to be able to meet so many heads of state over such a short time span, although his state of mind must have been affected by the criticism addressed to him after the Waco events.

[Popescu] I think one could safely presume that the crucial problem to be dealt with, and which will directly affect us, is the Yugoslav issue. How far will Romania go in complying with requests?

[Iliescu] It will go as far as needed, provided that UN resolutions are observed. However, there is a threshold beyond which we will never go, regardless of the circumstances, namely military involvement. As a matter of fact I discussed this very issue with [Bulgarian] president Zhelyu Zhelev and his position is identical.

[Popescu] Let us proceed with domestic issues. The planned cut in state subsidies is expected to be a critical moment. How should that issue be approached?

[Iliescu] With resoluteness. By being determined to advance. They asked me to mediate in the conflict between the government and the unions and I will do all I can to explain current circumstances to the union leaders and why we have to go on with that plan.

[Popescu] I was not thinking of the union leaders, who are playing their own games, but rather of the man in the street.

[Iliescu] We have to explain patiently to everyone that there is no way back. The price we have to pay for that is very high and difficult to bear, but there is no other way.

[Popescu] Would it not have been better if you had displayed the same kind of attitude in 1990, when people were given back their social shares [contributions that employees had to pay during the Ceausescu era]?

[Iliescu] We did, but we were put under enormous pressure, for instance by the entire 23 August industrial platform [huge industrial combine]. Let us repair the wrong done by unjust measures and let us give the people their money back, they said. Then we tried to suggest that the money should be paid back in installments over three years, considering that the money involved amounted to 28 billion lei, but they would not listen. I am sure you know the general atmosphere back in those days when they demoted competent but strict persons, claiming they had been members of the nomenclature, and replaced them with others who, due to their false understanding of freedom, have let everything fall apart. Democracy should not be anarchy—and one can see that very well in America—democracy means strictly observing the laws. Because things could work out, you know. For instance, a recent good example is a company producing transport equipment in Slatina, which was privatized according to the MEBO [management and employees buy-out] method. Now they have a great deal of orders, because despite the fact that much less is being

built for housing in the cities, a lot more is being built in the rural areas, so the company is doing well.

[Popescu] Companies that were engaged in profitable branches have never posed any problems. Real problems are posed by those mammoth companies that are loss makers, regardless of the efforts made by their employees....

[Iliescu] That is true. That is exactly what makes this transition period so difficult.

[Popescu] Another precarious situation is caused by the current explosion of corruption, at all levels. Daily ADEVARUL, for instance, is engaged in a bitter fight with that notorious Mr. Trita Fanita and all that he stands for. I hope that you have been following the various stages of that struggle. What is your stance on that case?

[Iliescu] My position is as clear as daylight. I have directed the prosecutor's office and juridical bodies to do their duty and roll up this whole case, as well as many other similar cases, such as the one concerning sugar [imports], which caused losses to the state.

[Popescu] Do you expect those bodies to continue their investigations to the very end? Recent events, especially the case discovered at the National Bank, reported by daily ADEVARUL, in which the bank's deputy governor keeps lying and covering himself, show that this end might be found at very high levels....

[Iliescu] They should doubtlessly go to the very end and not merely in the case you mentioned. We definitely need to have the bill on the public servants passed. Things have to be very clear. [President] Clinton had a very good friend whom he summoned to his administration, but he pointed out to him that he has to give up his attorney company immediately. Either one or the other.

[Popescu] Mr. President, [the soccer teams] Steaua and Dinamo are to play the derby on Sunday [25 April]. However I will not ask you to predict that score, but rather the result of the match between [Russian president Boris] Yeltsin and the [Russian] congress.

[Iliescu] I believe—and the U.S. officials' assessment is quite similar—that Yeltsin will win the referendum. However, that is far from enough to solve Russia's problems. Russia will have to go through very difficult times, you see, they have all those ethnic minorities, such as the Tartar, Bashkir, and Checheno-Ingush populations, which all want autonomy; now that the Soviet Union has fallen apart, the integrity of Russia itself is in jeopardy. Besides that, there is the problem of the Russian ethnic population living in the occupied territories, which has only now realized that it has become a minority. That is a danger that also concerns us, or more exactly, one further danger concerning us.

[Popescu] Anyway, I find what you said before quite important and hope-inspiring. We have to advance. There is no way back. I thank you very much, Mr. President!

Government Sets New Fuel Prices for 1 May

AU3004173593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1650 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/4/1993—On Friday, April 30, the government decided over the prices of fuels delivered to the population. These prices shall apply starting with 1 May: "Premium" gas—190 lei per liter, "regular" gas—180 lei per liter, standard gas—170 lei per liter, lead-free gas—220 lei per liter, and diesel oil—150 per liter.

First Meeting of National Minorities' Council

AU2904194793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 29/4/1993—The first working meeting of the National Minorities' Council, a newly set up body under the executive, took place at Victoria Palace in Bucharest, on April 29.

Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu appreciated that the setting up of that council reflected the government's preoccupation for the most adequate forms of institutionalization to secure the observance of human rights and national minorities' rights. This demonstrates to everyone, he stressed, that everything is being done to actually secure these rights.

The prime minister made several recommendations to the National Minorities' Council, so that it may have viable existence, debate with the ethnic groups their problems and advance proposals to the government, to the benefit of the constitutional rights of our national minorities in this country, keep in touch with the relevant departments in ministries, to secure as congenial as possible conditions in culture, education, religion and other desiderata of the ethnic groups living together with the Romanian people.

The second part of the council's meeting proceeded in the presence of Viorel Hrebenciuc, secretary-general of the government. They debated the rules of the new government body and established its main actions for the period ahead—wide-scale meetings with ethnic groups in Romania.

Iliescu 'Falsifying History,' Favoring Jews

93P20146A Bucharest VREMEA in Romanian 24 Apr 93 pp 1, 2

[Open Letter to President Ion Iliescu: "Romania Mare Party Press Conference of 23 April 1993"]

[Text] Mr. President, we want to express to you the feelings of sadness and amazement which we, the

founders of the Romania Mare Party [PRM], feel in regard to your visit to the United States. Your participation in the festivities connected with the inauguration of the Holocaust Museum in Washington confirms, once again, the unfortunate lack of dignity you demonstrated in the face of world Zionist tendencies to incriminate countries and peoples in order to lead mankind without any opposition.

In the three and a half years that you have been president of Romania, you have granted numerous concessions and favors to your proteges, the Jews, but this time you have exceeded your mandate and you have taken the country on a dangerous road, that of falsifying history. Public opinion in Romania has taken note of the indescribable lies written on the walls of this museum, which state that Romania was a profoundly anti-Semitic country, and the fact that, we quote: "On 23 October 1941, in reprisal for acts of sabotage, the Romanian army burned 19,000 Jews to death" unquote.

We do not ask ourselves how such crimes could have been committed. However, it is our duty to ask, and we will ask, how you could have confirmed this through tacit and obedient participation? Where, how, when, and under what conditions did the famed Romanian army commit such atrocities? We insist that evidence be produced and, if this is not possible, that the persons guilty of such slanderous assertions be summoned by the Romanian state to appear before the International Court in The Hague. Under these conditions, we were surprised to learn that the president of Bulgaria, Zhelyo Zhelev, who protested against the insults levied against his country by those who built this strange museum, performed a service worthy of praise. At this time, we do not intend to shed light on other aspects of your visit across the ocean, but we would like to ask you a few questions:

(1) Does the humiliating treatment given to you by the President of the United States—who, out of divine grace, gave you only 14 minutes—seem normal to you? By what criteria were the presidents of the Czech Republic and Poland given an hour each?

(2) Who headed the delegation, you or Mr. Moses Rosen?

(3) It is known that the 1993 budget allocated to Cotroceni Palace for protocol purposes 415 million lei—that is, about $500,000. Career diplomats have told us that your six-day visit across the ocean with the large delegation was more costly than any foreign visit of Nicolae Ceausescu, amounting to more than $1 million. Who paid the bill and with whose money?

Mr. President, we praised you when you did things well and we defended you when you were unjustly attacked and insulted. But this time we are telling you with the complete frankness characteristic of us that you have taken a wrong turn, one which is diametrically opposed to the national doctrine. We cannot agree with such a development and, despite the respect due to your high position, we propose to wake you up to reality before it is too late.

It is no secret that we expressed a desire to have a journalist from our publications ROMANIA MARE and POLTICA participate in this visit, for the simple reason that we are concerned about what the Romanian head of state does at a summit meeting of world leaders and, of course, because our magazines have the largest circulation among Romanian communities in North America. This was not possible because you surrounded yourself with yes-men, who represent bankrupt publications that have a circulation of between 4,000 and 15,000, and who are full of praise for the "wisdom" of Rabbi Moses Rosen, who strongly insulted our writers Vasile Alecsandri, Mihai Eminescu, and Mihail Sadoveanu. Later the rabbi launched an attack against Marshal Ion Antonescu before your indulgent eyes, on the holy day of Passover, 18 April 1993, at the Coral Temple in Bucharest, when he called him an executioner, thereby assassinating him once again. Instead of taking a stand, you took the microphone once again telling how Marshal Antonescu put your father in a concentration camp. But you are not facing reality: Your late father, like other prisoners, belonged to a network of the Comintern which was working for the territorial dismemberment of Romania! We understand how you feel, but there is only one historically true account and the chronicles of the nation will keep Ion Antonescu in a place of honor and will condemn the agents of Moscow to eternal contempt.

At the same Coral Temple, in the heart of Romania, you did not take a stand against the unbounded insolence of the extremism of some Zionists. We are referring to the monument set up there in 1991, on which are written some aberrations that are more terrible than those of the false historical treatises of Mihail Roller. We quote: "Some six million Jews, including 400,000 from Romania, died in a tormented hell brutally murdered by German, Romanian, and Hungarian fascists," unquote. Can you tolerate such revolting provocations, Mr. Iliescu? Why are you allowing to take root the false idea that our country was one of the epicenters of the world holocaust? Why aren't you taking a firm, courageous stand against the scandalous slyness of some people who blame the Romanian people for the Jewish victims in Northwestern Transylvania and the Dniester area when the Horthyites and the Hitlerites were the guilty parties? Don't you realize that an attempt is being made to blame the Romanian people for everything, possibly to get moral and material compensation for the damages, as Israel has done for 40 years in regard to Germany? This was demanded recently, in an explicit manner, in the Parliament in Tel Aviv, although the Romanian people do not have anything to their name? Can an exhausted and tormented country like Romania be allowed, once again in its history, to pay for disasters which it has not caused?

Unfortunately for you, Mr. Ion Iliescu, you have the idea that you know the history of this country, but we assure

you that you do not know anything because you are the product of an admittedly anti-Romanian education, which you received in the ranks of the Cominternists. We do not propose to change you now, at the age of 63. Not only do you not have a knowledge of the events of history, but you are also the prisoner of prejudices and mental blocks which cause you to lose control when someone has an opinion which is different from yours. We began to get to know you but absolute power has made you more unresponsive.

From the multitude of overwhelming evidence that testifies to the Christian benevolence of the Romanian people during World War II, we ask you to reflect on only two items. The author and memoir writer Oliver Lustig, a former prisoner in Auschwitz and currently a colonel in the Romanian army, states in a book which was translated into four world languages, and we quote: "In six countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, and Greece—in which about four million Jews lived, not as many Jews remained alive as in Romania. It is an fact of history that the final solution was not applied in the exercise of indigenous state power after 1940 and more than 300,000 Jews were saved," unquote. The well-known American scholar R.L. Braham, director of the Center for the Study of the Holocaust in New York, said that, we quote: "In the 1940-1944 period, Romania was a real oasis for Jews," unquote.

Whom should we believe, Mr. Iliescu? Should we believe the documents and evidence of the period, confirmed by numerous world scholars or should we believe Mr. Moses Rosen, who has the idea that he has the right to buy and sell the history of our people just because he was fraudulently admitted to the Romanian Academy?

We are perfectly aware of the seriousness of the step we are now taking. At the same time, we are aware that we will be accused of extremism and anti-Semitism but we are not losing our balance and we will continue to uphold our profession of faith; we have high regard for the Jewish people and we are sincerely saddened by the tragedy they have suffered. However, in the name of a tragedy which happened half a century ago, it is not moral and honest that there be new victims, in the ranks of a people who are so kind, so peaceful, and so God-loving as the Romanian people.

Mr. Ion Iliescu, do not mortgage the future of Romania, do not participate in attempts to falsify history, do not allow Romania to fall under the Zionist dictatorship, after the communist dictatorship brought in by Jews on Soviet tanks! In the name of some illusory financial assistance, which actually is never going to arrive, Romanians are discovering, with sorrow, that the country is collapsing and that we rank among the great criminals of the world. Is this the gratitude of Mr. Moses Rosen for Romanian loving-kindness? If so many Jews died in Romania, how did about 400,000 manage to escape and subsequently make the "aliyah" [return] to Israel; and how did the rabbi himself manage to escape, if not by becoming a close associate of the communist leaders Ana Pauker, Petre Groza, Gheorghiu-Dej, Nicolae Ceausescu, and, lately, of you, yourself, Mr. Ion Iliescu!!

We assure you that the much-heralded concept of political stability, in the name of which we should all keep our mouths shut, does not fool anybody any more. You are always calling for national harmony, but at what price? Can that price be deception, betrayal, and humiliation by such diversionary tactics carried out by some Zionist leaders who probably believe that all those who are not Jews are automatically fascists? Can it be that you believe, Mr. President, that Jews are heavenly cherubs and that Christian and Muslim brutes are always picking fights with them and are irresponsibly preventing them from establishing heaven on earth?

No, Mr. Ion Iliescu, we will not participate in Zionist plans for the inculpation and domination of peoples. What we have here is somebody who's beginning to think that he is the God of this world and that he's in a position to give out marks for conduct, punish nations, tear countries apart, and pull strings for the establishment of a New World Order over the heads of governments and billions of people.

A great number of these occult leaders were in Washington recently, posing as supermen who can carpet-bomb entire countries, make national currencies collapse, and destroy the fates of large groups which do not submit to them blindly—and you went there in the most servile manner, more submissively than to the Sublime Porte [office of the sultan in the Ottoman Empire]. The Romanian people have not elected you twice so that you could go to the big bosses in the name of the people, with hat in hand, smiling, in a satanic place, where it is written that we have burned people alive!!

The Jews brought you to power, the Jews will keep you in line, the Jews will keep you in your position at the price of destroying Romania's very foundation. We cannot forget the gang that put the yoke on the country after 22 December 1989 and with which our whole tragedy began: the prime minister of Romania was the Jew Petre Roman; Ceausescu's executioner was a regular customer of the synagogues, Gelu Voicahn [Gelu Voican-Voiculescu]; your first advisor was the Jew Mihai Bujor Sion, whom you raised in your home, when he was a small child; the Jews Sergiu Celac and Corneliu Bogdan were in charge of the diplomatic service; the chairman of radio-television was the Jew Aurel Dragos Munteanu; the positions of ambassadors, bankers, and cultural chiefs were occupied by Jews, etc. Who brought all these people out of oblivion and put them in the command posts of the country? You, Mr. Iliescu. So it is no wonder that you have an obsession with Jews and that, in the whirlwind of this obsession, you were able to say something shocking at the synagogue on Passover which made all historians laugh—namely, that Jews had fought in the army of Michael the Brave [16th century ruler of Wallachia, Transylvania, and Moldavia]; in other words, Jews have had rights for a very long time now and have made

sacrifices for our country! Calm down, Mr. Iliescu, no Jew fought in the army of the great unifier of the country [Michael], only perhaps a few mercenaries like Szeklers, Walloons, Poles, and Venetians, whom medieval Europe had in abundance and who did it for money, not because of their feelings for Romania. Of course, you cannot know both hydraulic engineering and medieval history, and there is a division of labor which it is a good idea for you to respect.

In the final analysis, we do not understand why you had to fly to America. Was it only to grant an interview to the criminal and traitor Aristide Buhoiu, who is a staunch monarchist and who is putting together in his kitchen that miserable newspaper of his with a circulation of 2,000 copies?

This then is to be our drama, the story of Romanians at the end of the century! The Democratic Convention is in the hands of the Hungarians and the president of the country is in the hands of the Jews. Under these conditions, the Romania Mare Party asks you, Mr. President, to state publicly your position on some essential issues:

(1) What do you mean by the statement that you are a freethinker? Does this mean that you are not a Christian?

(2) What is your attitude toward the absurd claims of some Jews that 400,000 Jews were killed in Romania and that the Romanian army burned to death 19,000 sons of Israel, when, in reality, we suppressed the Iron Guard movement? As the head of the National Defense Council and the head of the Army, can you look Romanian soldiers in the eye?

(3) Why are you always making accusations of anti-Semitism while not saying a word about serious examples of anti-Romanian activity and limiting yourself to some trivial matters such as champagne toasts and meetings with people who wish you well for St. Ion?!

If you do not give a clear and convincing response to these questions and refuse to face up to the serious problems of our nation, we, the founders of the Romania Mare Party will withdraw all our support from you once and for all. All the same, Mr. Ion Iliescu, please let us ask you a question which we never asked you before because we wanted to spare you and not disturb our peace: Do you bear no responsibility for the misery of our country, do you only know how to hide behind the Constitution and to smile like an old Pioneers instructor who moves with the grace of Fred Astaire, to take trips, and to blame others all the time? And there is something else: Who killed innocent children in cold blood in December 1989, and who is keeping the files under lock and key?

We must draw the correct conclusion: There never has been, is not, and will never be any anti-Semitism in Romania because Romanians are a noble and Christian people. All loyal and honorable minorities have our love!

mCORNELIU VADIM TUDOR

mSenator from Bucharest

mChairman of the Romania Mare Party

mEUGEN BARBU

mDeputy from Bucharest

mHonorary First Deputy Chairman of the PRM

mMIRCEA MUSAT

mDeputy from Brasov

mExecutive First Deputy Chairman of the PRM

Other members of the Steering Committee also signed this document: Valeriu Buzea, Iuliu Foro, Ioan Tanase, Cornel Ciontu, Dan Ioan Mirescu, and Mircea Hamza.

Karadzic Discusses Acceptance of Peace Plan

AU0205210093 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 May 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zoran Jevdjovic in Athens; date not given—recorded]

[Jevdjovic] Now that the Athens summit is over, let us first hear your impressions, Mr. Karadzic. An agreement has nevertheless been reached. You agreed to sign. Shall we first hear what the delegation of the Serbian republic agreed to?

[Karadzic] We agreed to initial the peace plan so that our assembly could have the final say. We decided to do this after thorough analyses and after new texts—that is, verbal and written explanations from the cochairmen—concerning the future of some territories in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the future of the entire project.

We realized that we could resolve some territorial issues. This was assured to us even in writing, namely that we can resolve the territorial issues in the course of the conference through the work in peace and after the war has ended. We are convinced that we hold territorial rights that are perfectly clear and obvious, and we will insist on them but not through war. We will try to do this in peace, just as we have decided not to fight for Konavle and the exit to the sea but rather demand this from Croatia for as long as we do not get it or possibly exchange it for something.

The eight months of the London conference that followed the failed Lisbon conference, which was a little more favorable for us, were hard and painful. However, basically we will be able to realize our goals in this manner, too. If our deputies also judge so after our versatile analyses, then we have an opportunity to end the war and the killing and shed a negative [word indistinct], into which the Serbian nation had been pushed and some great misfortunes came about.

[Jevdjovic] What was the key element for the acceptance of this paper?

[Karadzic] The key element is that, for example, where the Serbs live and where our army is at the present moment, no other army will come after demilitarization. Our people, who are actually our army and our people, will remain there because our people are our army. Our local police and our laws will remain.

[Jevdjovic] Regardless of the present division envisaged by the maps?

[Karadzic] Yes, regardless of the division envisaged by the maps because the people must live in compliance with some sort of laws. They have the laws and the police and this will be the arrangement during the transitional period. After a year or two, or for as long as this transitional period lasts, we will see what will happen then. We will exchange numerous territories and we will receive numerous territories in a different manner.

[Jevdjovic] What can you tell us about this tripartite presidency? What will the ratio be in the presidency and will outvoting be possible—for example, could a decision be passed that the Serbs are against?

[Karadzic] We proposed a coordinating body and this was accepted. However, it was nevertheless agreed that a sort of transitional government and presidency should exist. There will be three people [from each ethnic group] there. The greatest number of issues will be agreed upon by a consensus. In other words, the rules of procedure regulating what will be resolved by consensus will be passed by consensus. We envisage in these rules of procedures that if two members of one delegation—not three but two members of one delegation—demand that something be resolved by consensus, then this issue must be resolved by consensus, that is if we want peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We will have to see how it will all work out. Many people say that this country will not live to last. We will fully contribute for this project to work and succeed for the sake of our people. However, if time brings something else, then we will be ready for it as well.

[Jevdjovic] It seems to me that you once said in one of your statements that the accomplishment of the interests of the Serbian nation is possible either in a straightforward motion or by a detour, perhaps, even by jumping over the wall?

[Karadzic] It can be achieved by jumping over the wall or going around the wall but not through the wall, and there is not need to go through the wall.

[Jevdjovic] What does that mean on this occasion.

[Karadzic] Well, this means going around the wall a little.

[Jevdjovic] Around the wall?

[Karadzic] Yes.

[Jevdjovic] In any case, you have not stepped down from the elementary and vital interests of the Serbian nation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. You personally do not consider this to be the case, and I presume that you will not present it to the deputies as stepping down from... [Karadzic interrupts]

[Karadzic] The strategic interests are here. We will not step down from them and we are faithful to them. However, it is inevitable that they be realized in phases. A nation cannot achieve all of its most distant strategic aims in one year. It is not possible. Not even a house can be built in this fashion. First the foundations is laid and if the foundation is good, then a large house can be built upon it.

[Jevdjovic] Did you find this time that representatives of the international community were more understanding than before?

[Karadzic] I believe so, to a great extent. The very calling of the conference depicted understanding for the Serbian stance. Verbal and written explanations were also very important. The cochairmen—all three of them, including Stoltenberg—and I signed an act stating that my signature will be invalid if the assembly does not ratify it. In a way, they strived to meet the Serbian needs wherever they could and wherever it depended upon them. However, wherever they needed the consensus of the Croats and the Muslims, they could not do this—for example, to resolve certain territorial issue now.

The documents, however, explicitly state that the borders are temporary and that the territorial issues can be resolved over time. This is very significant for us.

[Jevdjovic] Another thing. I believe that the most significant issue was the debate between the members of the delegation of Serbia, Yugoslavia, and your delegation—that is, the delegation of the Serbian republic. Has this nevertheless confirmed that the interests of the entire Serbian nation are the key issues to which everybody must (?bow)?

[Karadzic] Not the most important, but one of the most important reasons that we accepted this agreement was to preserve the unity of the Serbian nation. Basically, no one can do us any harm. Some 70 years ago, that is, some hundred years ago we ended up under Austria and managed to pull out. At that time, we could have been free and united with Serbia, but we managed to pull away from Austria-Hungary.

We shall realize our rights to the fullest within Bosnia-Herzegovina. At the same time, we will be fully integrated with the rest of the Serbian nation—economically, culturally, spiritually, educationally, and information-wise. We should live like one state. Had we had the same premier from Knin to Pirot during the last 45 years, the Serbian nation would have been in a completely different position and situation.

Step by step until the final goal, phase by phase, wisely, and without any losses. We can say that we were well prepared to accept this war that was imposed upon us, perhaps the best prepared since we have been living in Bosnia. We escaped genocide and protected our territories and our people. We have enough territories and people. We will strive to see that the people who are currently not envisaged to live in the Serbian provinces realize their territorial rights, too.

Karadzic Says Vance-Owen Plan 'Still Not Valid'

LD0205223093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2006 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG)—President of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic said this evening upon his return from the negotiations in Athens that the Serb side had agreed to sign (the plan) because it received written guarantees that the maps can be altered.

Karadzic explained to journalists at Belgrade Airport that it will be possible to exchange territories, i.e., villages and even entire towns in direct negotiations and with a consensus of all three nations.

According to Karadzic, the other two sides also accepted this, and this is what is essentially new, and what influenced him to change his decision and put his signature to the Vance-Owen plan, along with the fact that all other issues will be dealt with on the basis of consensus.

"This will be of exceptional importance in peace time after the war, and in this respect a certain progress has been made at the conference," he added.

Karadzic also said that it was explained to him that neither Muslim nor Croatian armies would enter the territories from which the Serbian army would withdraw, and that authority would be in the hands of local police (formed on the basis of the percentage of the existing population).

This situation would remain, he explained, until a new constitution is passed and a new system instigated. Joint commissions for borders will monitor and protect those territories.

According to Karadzic, the plan could come into effect as early as in two weeks if UN observers arrive in that period and contribute to a final end to all hostilities.

The president of the Serb republic stressed that the Serb delegation had accepted the plan in order to "save peace and the unity of the Serbian nation," and announced that he will demand that UN observers should be immediately deployed along the lines of separation between the warring sides.

Karadzic explained that he only initialed the document, and that the document is still not valid. He expressed hope, however, that the Serb republic assembly will accept it.

"Our assembly will probably set several conditions on the basis of which the plan will be implemented, as was done by Izetbegovic," he added.

Karadzic denied cochairman David Owen's assertions that this matter has already been settled regardless of the Serbian assembly's decision.

"That is not how things are," Karadzic said. "We have a paper, also signed by the cochairmen, according to which the signature is not valid unless approved by the assembly. This paper is an official document of the conference."

Asked by TANJUG's correspondents why the Serbian delegation accepted a practically unaltered plan without

any counterdemands—for instance, the lifting of the sanctions, Karadzic replied: "We received guarantees that the sanctions will gradually be lifted soon."

"If not, we will not be able to demobilize so many troops, with the sanctions in place and the economy not functioning yet," Karadzic explained.

He added that the cochairmen were not in the Security Council and could not have reached a decision on the lifting of the sanctions on their own, but they could, as he said, raise the matter at the Security Council on which "everything will depend."

When asked for his comments on the new threats—the American President's decision on military action and his statement that the signature is not sufficient—Karadzic replied: "If the signature is not enough, let them come and bash us".

"See, we are already proving that we are in favor of the plan because we are calling on the United Nations to begin deploying observers along the front line as soon as tomorrow. If that is not enough, there can be no salvation for us, or the world. If someone who draws his gun from its holster cannot put it back without firing it, then that is gunslinger psychology and gunslinger politics," concluded the president of the Serb republic.

Requested to comment on Muslim leader Izetbegovic's statement that he had abolished the Serb republic with his signature, Karadzic said: "The Serb republic exists and will continue to exist as long as its people do not decide otherwise."

Karadzic Says Maps Can Be Changed

LD0205200993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1808 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, 2 May (TANJUG)—President of the Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic said this evening upon his return from Athens that the Serbs from Bosnia had agreed to sign the Vance-Owen plan because they were given written guarantees that the maps can be changed, and that in the future, Bosnia-Herzegovina decisions of authority will be passed by consensus.

Karadzic added that he had received assurances that it will be possible to exchange even entire towns and villages, and that provinces from which the Bosnian Serb army will withdraw will be placed under the control of the UN Protection Forces.

Karadzic stressed that he had not put a final signature, but an initial signature, and that the final decision on the plan will be made on Wednesday [5 May] by the Serb republic assembly.

The Serb republic president expressed hope that the assembly will accept the plan and that the plan will start being implemented immediately.

Karadzic said that he will demand that the United Nations send additional forces as soon as possible, stressing that he accepts the plan in the name of peace and the unity of the Serbian nation.

Karadzic: Serbs United More Than Ever Before

AU0205213793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1551 GMT 2 May 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Zoran Jevdjovic in Athens; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Jevdjovic] Perhaps the aim is also to avoid some dangers that are currently... [Karadzic interrupts]

[Karadzic] Absolutely, absolutely. [Passage indistinct] at this moment, played the card of splits and divisions among the Serbs by trying to convince the Serbs in Yugoslavia that all their suffering comes from the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and former Croatia. However, this was [words indistinct] we see this on the streets and in public opinion polls. However, we [words indistinct], we want the sanctions to be lifted immediately, as we will also demobilize a great number of people who will need to work somewhere. The Serbs are not crazy people that would rather drive tanks than new Mercedes cars. We must return to the economy as soon as we have secured all our people and their prosperity. We must return to the economy, and, in this sense, the sanctions must be lifted.

However, if the international community continues to pressure Serbia, and if it tries to set Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina ablaze, then the Serbian nation will act again and react unanimously.

We are united. Never before have we been more united. The differences among us are very minor, and we must preserve this [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] to overcome our troubles. No one can stop a nation that has a powerful determination that comes from it's profound existential needs. Perhaps it can be shaken temporarily by something in its path, but no one can prevent it from reaching its goal.

Boban Commends Bosnian Serb Signing of Peace Plan

LD0205165493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 May 93

[Excerpts] Mate Boban, president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, has arrived at Split airport on his way home from the Athens conference. He made the following statement for Croatian Radio and Television:

[Begin Boban recording] We were only the witnesses of the final decision adopted by Bosnian Serbs and the gentlemen from Serbia; we witnessed the confirmation of our standpoint from the very beginning regarding the political solution to the crisis on the former Yugoslav

soil on the one hand and the problem of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a possible state on the other. For the time being this is just a formal confirmation. Very, very hard work lies ahead because this plan, the Vance-Owen plan for peace on the former Yugoslav soil, for peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina, is not a given. It is a process which will last a very long time, but I believe that it contains all the necessary premises for ending the war and establishing the state of Bosnia-Herzegovina based on equal rights for all three nations—this is the basic premise of our policy—and that, at the same time, everyone's rights should be determined at a political meeting between Serbia and Croatia some time in the future, and that a lasting peace is achieved in the Balkans. [passage omitted]

The Serbs will without doubt try and present the signing of the plan as their own victory. Let them do it as long as there is peace and as long as the aggression stops. [passage omitted]

Lukic Says Serbs Can Only Accept 'Modified' Vance-Owen Plan

LD0205193093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Bijeljina, May 2 (Tanjug)—It is a fact that the Vance-Owen plan has been agreed on in principle. However, since I do not know what has been offered, it is too early to comment, [Bosnian] Serb republic Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic said in Bijeljina today.

According to him, one thing is, nevertheless, certain: If the Vance-Owen plan is not modified to a certain point, the assembly, despite its goodwill, will not accept it.

"This does not mean that we are not in favor of peace and an end to the war," he said, and recalled that a lasting peace can only be achieved through a resolution of the Vance-Owen plan that would satisfy all three sides.

This is the third time a religious war is being waged in these regions—it is currently in its fiercest stage—and it is probably clear to everybody that without certain necessary divisions there can be no peace and communal life, Lukic said.

UNPROFOR Expects New Troops To Be Deployed Soon

AU0305112193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 3 May 93

[Report by Zoran Pirolic from Sarajevo]

[Text] Barry Frewer, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman, said in Sarajevo today that now that the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina has been signed, it is realistic to expect new [word indistinct] international forces in a relatively short time in this country. He could not be more precise about when new military forces would be arriving in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but they could be expected in the next few weeks. The Security Council will make that decision, and it is indeed going to sit in session today. The entire operation would be carried out by the United Nations in the closest cooperation with [word indistinct] that will provide the troops for this massive, expensive, and very complex operation.

According to Frewer, new troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina will see that the cease-fire is observed, that the heavy artillery and military units are withdrawn to their designated province, that the so-called blue roads envisaged by the Vance-Owen peace plan are secured, and that Sarajevo is demilitarized. They will also carry out police work and various other tasks. That will doubtless be [word indistinct] without precedent in the whole history of the United Nations, Brewer added.

UNPROFOR has not been informed about the weapons that the new troops will have, how the weapons will be used, nor whether we will have repeat runs of the blocking of the convoys and endless negotiations with local military commanders who are allegedly out of control. In any case, there is a feeling in UNPROFOR that things are about to change, and that the whole U.N. operation in Bosnia- Herzegovina will soon have a new mandate, Frewer said.

As for the situation on the fronts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, UNPROFOR says that the fighting is letting up, and the most encouraging thing is that there are no more clashes between the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council. The joint visit by military commanders Sefer Halilovic and Milivoje Petkovic to the area of recent clashes must have contributed to that fact. Yesterday they visited the region of Jablanica and Konjic, where the fighting between the allies has also stopped.

Six Reported Killed in Fighting Around Sarajevo

LD0105212293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] We will remember this May Day because of innocent victims sent to death by the crazed psychiatrist [Bosnian Serb republic president Radovan Karadzic] for goals that will never be realized. The day was particularly hellish for the inhabitants of the Stari Grad municipality. Fierce shelling began at 0600 when chetniks targeted Zlatiste, Sirokaca, Hrid, Jarcedol, and the very heart of the city, Bascarsija. Three people were killed and two wounded by a shell which exploded in Defenders' Street. Immediately after that three civilians were killed and six wounded on Fra Grga Martic Square.

The afternoon was relatively calm, with sporadic chetnik artillery attacks. Berkusa is currently under strong artillery fire and explosions can be heard from Sirokaca and Gazin Han. Intensive infantry fire can be heard along the entire defense line. Snipers are active in the center municipality, and one shell hit Soukbunar, fortunately without any consequences.

Novo Sarajevo and Novi Grad municipalities are mainly quiet, chetniks launched an intensive artillery attack on

the liberated parts of the Vogosca municipality after 1900, particularly on Hotonj. Kobilja Glava was targeted from anti-aircraft machine-guns and anti-aircraft guns.

Two Sarajevo Districts Reportedly Shelled

LD0305085693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Sarajevo's residential quarters of Hrid and Jarcedol were subjected to fresh heavy artillery attacks around 0700 this morning. There are no reports of casualties, but it has been confirmed that at least 10 heavy artillery shells hit the area and that there has been sniper fire. Other sections of Sarajevo are said to be quiet.

Fighting Reported in Brcko, Sarajevo 'Relatively Quiet'

AU0305085293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 3 May carries in its regular 17-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the republic.

The Brcko Press Center reports that "the Serbian chetniks fired at our entire defense line all night. They also fired with artillery and tanks on Lipovac throughout the night. Hundreds of shells landed at the defense lines but they have withstood the attack. Mortars and antiaircraft guns fired at Brod and Brodusa until 0100 [2300 GMT] after midnight. Licki Most and Dizdarusa were shelled with mortars all night."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "yesterday was a relatively quiet day on this front. There was some provocative small arms fire, while Medjedja Gornja, Zelinja Srednja, and Rajska came under mortar attack. Over 50 82-mm mortars landed on the defense lines and the civilian targets deep in free territory. Elsewhere, the aggressor used antiaircraft guns and machine guns. The night was relatively quiet, except for a tank firing several missiles at the industrial zone."

The studio announcer says that Sarajevo is "relatively quiet this morning."

Sarajevo Radio Reports Nine Dead in Brcko Shelling

LD0205105393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 2 May 93

[Excerpt] The Serbo-chetnik dead-or-alive offensive has continued to claim the lives of the weaponless population of the free Brcko territory. The bloodthirsty animals do not choose a time or place for their cannibal orgies; they have been heavily pounding the free Brcko territory day and night.

At 2220 last night the chetniks opened fire with 155-mm howitzers and multiple-rocket launchers for four hours, causing destruction and death in the free Brcko territory. The aftermath of the shelling, in which over 500 missiles were fired, can only be compared with the aftermath of a powerful earthquake. Seven citizens of Brcko—predominantly younger ones—who were asleep when the shelling began, will never wake up again. Two more citizens were killed by a howitzer shell while negotiating their way to a shelter in the gloom of night. Twenty-five people sustained serious or light injuries.

Simultaneously with perpetrating the crime against civilian population, the chetniks were ferociously attacking our defense lines. [passage omitted]

Serbs Reportedly Continue Gorazde Area Attacks

LD0205190393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 93

[Report by Enes Musovic from Gorazde press center]

[Text] Chetniks have continuously been attempting infantry breakthroughs today, backed by artillery fire. Commander Sejdic's soldiers and other units of the eastern Bosnia operational group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are firmly in control of all their lines and are fiercely responding to all chetnik attacks. Twenty chetniks were killed in infantry clashes and many of them were wounded. This morning one tank was destroyed. Three of our soldiers were killed and seven wounded, two of them seriously.

Even after war criminal Radovan Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen plan, his hordes have continued sowing death in southeast Bosnia. In the zone of responsibility of the 1st Visegrad Brigade three civilians were killed and 10 wounded by chetnik shells. Chetniks are constantly shelling all other inhabited villages in the Gorazde region, especially [words indistinct] where three civilians were killed today. To end the sad chronicle from Gorazde, 10 persons died of hunger today.

Izetbegovic Appeals for Humanitarian Aid to Gorazde

LD3004214693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] We must remind you of the shocking fact that it has been 64 days today since the last humanitarian aid convoy arrived in Gorazde. Since February the agressor has stopped, examined, and delayed for days every convoy and finally returned each one to its starting point, said Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in his letter today to Sadako Ogata, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

Aid from the air, although useful, is not sufficient. Children and old people have already begun to die of starvation in Gorazde. We appeal to you and to the UN Security Council to find a way for humanitarian aid to reach eastern Bosnia, and particularly Gorazde. It is high time to help the suffering civilian population of this town, said Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, in his letter.

Croats, Chetniks Reportedly Shell Muslim Village

LD0205194893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Despite official assurances about the diminishing intensity of the clashes between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, last night and today mortar shell explosions and infantry fire echoed around Konjic and in its suburbs. According to the command of the northern Herzegovina operational group, the HVO units are continuing their anti-aircraft machinegun attacks on the Luka district, and snipers are also active.

According to the same source joint chetnik and HVO forces from the Ljubinje area are launching intensive artillery attacks on the village of Igba. Refugees from the village of Radesina have found shelter in Igba so that HVO members are now even killing members of their own nation. One Croat civilian was killed and two were seriously wounded in an artillery attack on this village.

The HVO forces are also continuing their attacks in the Neretvica area where the villages of Grabovici and Lisicici are under fire. Ten houses were burned down in the Muslim village of Glozuca, and the HVO is bringing fresh troops into the Kostajnica area.

UNHCR Reports 'Continuing Abuses' of Banja Luka Muslims

AU0305100393 Paris AFP in English 0932 GMT 3 May 93

[Text] Geneva, May 3 (AFP)—The office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] said here Monday [3 April] there were "continuing abuses" against the some 30,000 Moslems in the Banja Luka sector of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

UNHCR spokesman Ron Redmond said Bosnian Serb authorities in Banja Luka had informed the UNHCR that about 200 Moslems had been put aboard coaches for Travnik 130 kilometres (80 miles) away.

The Moslems had to pay 100 German marks (64 dollars) per adult and 50 marks for a child. There were an estimated 30,000 Moslems in Banja Luka, the UNHCR said.

Defense Official Complains About Serbian Attacks

LD0105220393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] The aggressor revealed his true nature during today's negotiations in Athens when presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic, despite their calls for peace, issued orders to their phalanxes to commence new attacks, writes Bosnia-Herzegovina Deputy Defense Minister Munib Bisic in a letter to UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] command for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Munib Bisic also warned the command for Bosnia-Herzegovina about an attack to be staged by 5,000 chetniks brought in from Serbia and Montenegro to the free territory of Gorazde. In their latest attacks on Visegrad, the aggressors also used toxic gases.

Fighting also goes on unabated to widen the corridor through Posavina and to open up a new corridor through central Bosnia.

According to still incomplete reports, eight civilians were killed today by the aggressors in the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We request you to inform the UN Security Council about today's events in the republic and to do everything you can to enable UNHCR [Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees] convoys to finally enter the encircled parts of Zepa and Gorazde. As you know, murder by famine is a form of genocide, Munib Bisic's letter says in conclusion.

Croat-Muslim Clashes Continue

LD0105120293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1122 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 1 (TANJUG)—Closing battles are underway between Croatian Defence Council (HVO) forces and Moslem units for control of Busovaca, a town in central Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bosnian Serb military sources said, as quoted by the news agency of local Serbs—SRNA.

According to Moslem radio reports in Zenica on Sunday [as received] morning, fighting is underway in the streets of Busovaca, and HVO forces have received reinforcements from the notorious 'black shirts' unit from Tomislavgrad.

Croatian Radio in Zagreb said that "the Croatian heroes of Busovaca" were offering strong resistance to "Moslem aggressors who have engaged all available forces and means."

"Moslem criminals have burned to the ground two Croatian villages in the region of Busovaca—Jelinak and Putis, thus clearly showing that they intend fully to carry out the order of Sefer Halilovic (commander of the Moslem-controlled Bosnia-Herzegovina Army) that this town must fall into Moslem hands," Dario Kordic, vice-president of the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosna told Croatian Radio. Herzeg-Bosna has been formed by local Croats in parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Kordic said that battles were underway also for Bugojno and Vitez, where "the HVO will do everything to establish full Croatian power in the Croatian provinces."

The Serb military sources said that the Moslem-Croat conflict on Friday spread also to the region of Zepce, where 16 Moslem troops were killed and 14 wounded, and to Maglaj as well, while the entire Croat population of Zavidovici has been banished.

Moslem military sources said that HVO forces in Vitez had locked up several hundred Moslem women and

children in the local school and thus prevented Moslem units from taking over the city.

In Bugojno, HVO forces were forced to withdraw before strong Moslem attacks on the city outskirts and surrounding villages, the Serb military sources said.

It is assessed that Croat forces are facing defeat here and that it is a matter of days when Bugojno will fall into Moslem hands.

Moslem-controlled Radio Travnik said that the HVO was still blocking all entrances to the city and opening fire at Bosnia-Herzegovina (Moslem) Army positions. "They (Croats) brutally murdered us in Stari Vitez, they did not spare even women or children, and the HVO has the same plans for the Moslems of Travnik also," Travnik police station chief told the radio, adding that this must not be repeated because "Moslems must finally understand that Roman Catholics are old swindlers," SRNA reported.

Croatian military sources, however, claim that Moslems from the village of Meurica had massacred Croats from a village around Novi Travnik and that the surviving civilians had fled to neighbouring Croat villages, SRNA further reported.

The massacred civilians were buried in the village of Viniste by members of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and the HVO.

The Serb military sources said that the Handzar division of Moslems from the region of Sandzak in the southwest of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia was taking part in the fighting against the HVO near Konjic.

Moslem police captured prominent Croats in Ostrosac near Konjic, and the HVO and the Moslem Army are currently negotiating their release.

Croatian refugees from Konjic and neighbouring villages continue to arrive in Serb-controlled territory of the municipality of Konjic.

Muslim Shelling, Attacks on Croatian Areas Reported

LD0205135193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] After 2000 yesterday evening Muslim formations opened artillery fire on the village of (Krcevine) in Vitez municipality from the villages of (Preocice) and (Ljubis). A Croatian Defense Council [HVO] soldier sustained injuries.

Last night and this morning Muslim extremists again engaged in provocations around Vitez, Busovaca, and Kiseljak, while reconnaissance parties have reported that Muslim formations have been concentrating, entrenching, laying new minefields, and securing paths to the hills which they control around (Rostovo) and Gornji Vakuf, the HVO defense department in Mostar has announced.

The same source has said that an exchange of citizens arrested during clashes between Croat and Muslim formations in central Bosnia, as agreed by top HVO officers and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, has not been completely carried out. The HVO in Vitez released all arrested Muslim civilians yesterday, while the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army released only some arrested Croats. The Muslim side did not explain why it has not released all Croatian civilians. The agreement was fully carried out in Busovaca; the arrested people were exchanged all-for-all, and the same was done in Kiseljak where 59 Croats who were kept prisoners in a gas plant were exchanged for 74 Muslims.

Throughout the night and this morning Muslim forces have been attacking all the Croatian villages in the Neretvica River valley. Mortar and infantry attacks on the villages of Obri, Vrci, and Budisnja Ravan have been particulary intense. Last night Muslim soldiers looted a food warehouse in the vicinity of Butorovic Polje.

Croatian Delegation Views Relations With Muslims

LD0105155393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 May 93

[Report by correspondent Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] The Croatian Assembly delegation, on visit to Herzegovina since yesterday, today began the working part of its visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Members of the delegation, led by Drago Krpina, had talks in Medjugorje this morning with Muslim representatives from northeast Bosnia. Salko Kulenovic, president of the regional committee of the Party of Democratic Action from Tuzla, pointed out that there have been no clashes between Croats and Muslims in the Tuzla region, adding that Croats and Muslims were fighting under joint command against common enemy in this part of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Croatian Assembly delegation asked about the position of Croats in the Tuzla region.

Talks are under way in Mostar between the Assembly delegation and Croatian representatives in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Bosnia-Herzegvina Government as well as officials of the Croatian community of Herzeg-Bosna. The Assembly delegation will afterwards have talks with Muslim representatives in Herzegovina. The next leg of the Croatian parliamentary delegation's tour in Bosnia-Herzegovina will depend on the UN Protection Force which was asked to secure the delegation's journey to central Bosnia.

Muslims Reportedly Blocked from Leaving Mostar

LD0205213893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] is still not allowing the free movement of Muslims in Mostar. This has been publicly confirmed by HVO president for

Mostar Jadranko Topic. The command of the Mostar Brigade has issued a statement on the Mostar blockade saying, among other things:

Mostar is in a total trade and information blockade. Only HVO members are permitted to leave the city. Muslim citizens working in public services have no chance to leave the city. In this way HVO members have a monopoly in ruling Mostar. This is used to carry out a legal robbery and the highest bodies of authorities and individuals from the HVO are responsible for this.

Despite the inhumanity of such behavior, it is being justified on Croatian Television. Recently the HVO has been carrying out its transformation from a military organization into a political-military apparatus, with stress on police formations. Having in mind these and other decisions imposed by the HVO, the Mostar Brigade sent a proposal to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], the Red Cross, and the EC observer mission. According to this proposal UNPROFOR would control and supervise all city exits and would secure all bridges over the Neretva River between Aleksin Han and Capljina in the presence of local military police patrols.

Muslims Reportedly Breach Cease-Fire in Srebrenica

LD0205135093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Bratunac, May 2 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Moslem forces continue with armed provocations in the region of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia despite the alleged demilitarization of the town by U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) and a cease-fire agreement signed by the Serb and Moslem sides, which took effect on April 18.

Moslem attacks on Serb positions on the strategically important Kvarc hill and in the vicinity of the village of Pribicevac near Srebrenica were frequent on Saturday night [1 May] and Sunday morning, TANJUG learned from the Bosnian Serb Army sources on Sunday.

The Serb side did not return the attacks from small arms, the Bosnian Serb Army sources said.

An attempt by a Moslem terrorist group (between 15 and 20 men) to infiltrate into the region of the Serb-populated village of Pajic, in the broader region of the Serb-populated town of Bratunac (northeast of Srebrenica), was prevented on Saturday evening, the Bosnian Serb Army Command said.

The Serb troops did not suffer any casualties, but at least one-half of the Moslem terrorist group members were killed while the rest escaped.

The latest Moslem attempt to get through to the village of Pajic is yet another in a series of evidences that the Srebrenica region has not been demilitarized, despite the fact that this was the reason the Canadian UNPROFOR troops (about 200) were allowed into the town.

Despite the fact that they have been ordered to surrender weapons, Moslem troops escaped Srebrenica together with the weapons and are now occupying the surrounding hills. Their snipers have killed three Serb soldiers over the past several days.

While some UNPROFOR officials claim that Srebrenica has been demilitarized and ignore the information provided by the Serb side proving the opposite, UNPROFOR Chief-of-Staff for Bosnian-Herzegovina General Haze confirmed indirectly two days ago that the demilitarization has yet to take place.

Muslim Attacks on Serb Villages Reported

LD0205135593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1225 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Doboj, May 2 (TANJUG)—Moslem formations in the wider region of Doboj, northern Bosnia, continue attacks on Serb positions and villages, Serb military sources said on Sunday [2 May].

Moslem forces attacked with infantry weapons and 120-mm mortars along almost the entire Doboj front on Saturday night and early on Sunday morning. Bosnian Serb fighters did not answer the attacks.

Moslem units opened fire from mortars and snipers were active in the region of Teslic, south of Doboj.

Moslems fired several shells from hand-held rocket launchers on the Serb village of Jablanica in the region of Maglaj southeast of Teslic.

Moslem forces renewed attacks on the Serb village of Padinovice, at the front around Zavidovici in central Bosnia, which came under strong fire from 20-mm caliber anti-aircraft cannon on several occasions.

Serb military sources said that Moslems on Sunday morning and on Saturday night violated the cease-fire also in the front around Bihac in northwestern Bosnia. The Serb side did not sustain any casualties, despite strong activities from infantry and artillery units on Serb positions and civilian objects in Pritoka, Grabez and Krupa on the River Una.

The Bosnian Serb Army is strictly respecting the cease-fire, firing back only as a last resort. It has firm control of all the frontlines, the Serb military sources said. They warned that both men and women were being mobilized once again in the Cazin [place name indistinct], a Moslem enclave in northwestern Bosnia.

This was confirmed also by Moslem-controlled Radio Bihac which is calling on all Moslems to answer the summons to join the armed forces.

Muslim Forces Reportedly Mount Attack on Serbs

LD0305091193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0751 GMT 3 May 93

[Excerpt] Bileca, 3 Apr (TANJUG)—Strong Muslim forces concentrated along the Kalinovik front line on the Herzegovina front began a fierce attack on Serbian defense lines early this morning, the command of the Serb forces in Bileca reported.

A particularly heavy attack was launched along the Ljuta-Vrhovina-Kalinovik line, while heaviest infantry battles are being waged in the village of Bojici and near the Lukavac area. Muslim forces are using all the artillery and infantry weapons at their disposal.

Serb fighters were reported to have been well prepared for the attack, inflicting heavy losses on Muslim troops. There is no information yet on possible victims among the soldiers of the Herzegovina corps. [passage omitted]

Serb Bodies Exhumed in Northern Bosnia

Belgrade TANJUG in English 1417 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Brod, May 1 (TANJUG)—A total of 40 bodies of Bosnian Serb civilians were exhumed from a mass grave in Brod in northern Bosnia on Saturday [1 May]. The Serbs were killed by Moslem formations.

Investigations of mass graves continue. Some other mass graves are expected to be opened up soon, which are believed to contain many murdered Serbs.

Pathologist Dr. Ljubomir Curkic has said that many bodies have evident signs of torture—broken skulls and deformities of other parts of their bodies.

Eight victims have been identified so far by members of their families.

All the Serbs were killed while Brod was controlled by the local Moslems who terrorized the Serb population, as they do also in other towns which are under their control.

Canadian Patrol Attacked Near Srebrenica

LD0105160193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1528 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 1 (TANJUG)—A reconnaissance patrol of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] Canadian troops came under mortar and infantry fire on Friday [30 April] while scouting a Bosnian Serb check point near the Moslem enclave of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, UNPROFOR spokesman Barry Frewer said in Sarajevo on Saturday.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA said Frewer did not specify whether it was fired from Moslem positions near the Bosnian Serb check point.

The spokesman said the Canadian patrol did not return fire, but went back to Srebrenica.

The U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) patrol was sent to the nearby village of Zeleni Jadar to inspect the damage at the waterworks supplying Srebrenica with water, SRNA added.

The Bosnian Serb military authorities allowed UNPROFOR to repair the waterworks so that the water supplies in the town could be restored, said the agency.

NATO Detects Two Helicopters Violating No-Fly Zone

AU0105170093 Paris AFP in English 1644 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Vicenza, Italy, May 1 (AFP)—NATO warplanes enforcing the Bosnian no-fly zone detected two violators over areas controlled by Serb forces, NATO officials said here Saturday [1 May].

In the first of the two incidents Friday, two F-15 fighter planes picked up a radar contact northwest of Gorazde, a Serb-besieged Moslem town in eastern Bosnia, and identified the aircraft as a French-built Gazelle helicopter.

The warplanes escorted the chopper out of the no-fly zone until it passed into the airspace of neighboring Serbia, officials at the headquarters of Operation Deny Flight said.

In the second case, an F-15 patrol detected another Gazelle heading for the airport in the town of Zaluzani, where it apparently landed, the NATO command said.

UNPROFOR Spokesman Says Cease-Fire Being Respected

LD0105223693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2105 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Martin Waters, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesperson in Vitez, said today that it seems the cease-fire between Muslim and Croat forces in central Bosnia is, in general, being respected, but the atmosphere is still tense, especially around Vitez and Busovaca. UNPROFOR and the EC are in the process of organizing exchanges of POWs [prisoners of war] and wounded.

Health Service Says 350 Killed, Over 900 Wounded Last Week

AU3004191393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] According to the information from the Service for Health and Social Security, during the last seven days on the free territories of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina 350 people have been killed, and over 900 people wounded. Of this number, 40 have been killed and 205 wounded by chetnik activities in Sarajevo. So far 7,550 cases of death through cold and starvation have been registered, of which 2,243 have been children.

Spread of Diseases Described as 'Extremely Serious'

LD3004223493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The epidemiological situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina is extremely serious. According to reports from the republican health and social security headquarters, 22,866 cases of enterocolitis, 1,896 cases of dysentery, 2,245 cases of viral hepatitis, and 46 cases of typhoid have been recorded in the areas of Zenica, Tuzla, Bihac, and Sarajevo since April last year. All of these diseases have been registered in the form of an epidemic.

Silajdzic: British Troops Will Have 'To Fight' or 'Leave'

AU3004142293 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic stated in London that Great Britain was the biggest obstacle to the solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina because of its opposition to the lifting of the arms embargo.

I must add that the British troops in Bosnia-Herzegovina are doing a first class job, but they do not have the right to defend themselves, which is humiliating. They will either have to fight or to leave, Silajdzic said.

Commentary Examines U.S. Policy Toward Serbs

AU3004172693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Commentary by Zoran Pirolic—recorded]

[Text] It is not known how many of his 100 days in the White House President Clinton has devoted to the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, the gravest of international problems, as he himself has admitted. Undoubtedly, the first big decision that he is going to make will concern the war in our country. This decision will not only affect further developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it will also basically define U.S. policy toward crises in the postcommunist era. The question as to whether there is going to be military intervention, something that the citizens of Bosnia-Herzegovina are asking themselves in a more simplified way, is a complex issue for Washington and its allies.

It is obvious that the leader of world policy in Washington and in the UN Security Council still has not solved the dilemma of whether anything can be done in Bosnia through various political threats and pressures, and by way of the extremely serious threat of military force. There seems to be no common ground in the clash between Western pragmatism and the mythical irrationality of the Bosnian Serbs. [Bosnian Serb leader] Karadzic's Serbs are ready to bear all the sanctions and endure all pressures, while their military leader, Ratko Mladic, who is getting more and more absorbed in playing the role of a little Balkan Napoleon, said a few nights ago that his troops have no desire to punish NATO. However, if they are forced to do so, they will do everything to show the Western forces who the real master in the Bosnian gorges is.

Bill Clinton and his military-political headquarters are now looking for the correct balance between the strategies of entering and exiting a Balkan war, while the essential question is how best to define the political goal, how to achieve it and get out of the Bosnian hell as quickly as possible, with as few complications and as few casualties as possible.

At least [words indistinct] argument of the allies' political goal in Bosnia is already clear. This is putting an end to the aggression and preserving the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The third argument, forcing the aggressor to accept the Vance-Owen plan, is the least certain of all of the West's calculations, because they cannot see how military action can force the tough, nationalistic core from Pale practically to sign its own death warrant.

Air strikes on chetnik positions, command and control positions with Serbia, would be limited both in respect to the targets and to their duration, but they could also be limited at the level of accomplished goals. Air strikes were not enough to run Saddam's troops out of Kuwait, so it was only after the allies' ground operations that Iraq was definitely defeated. Henry Kissinger has recently remarked that during the U.S. intervention in Vietnam, air strikes also proved insufficient in winning the war, while history has shown how the whole affair ended, despite the massive use of ground forces. The Vietnam syndrome is very much present in U.S. policy, and although the victory in the Gulf has partly healed the wounds from Indochina, it has not erased them from America's memory. It is true that this time the context is somewhat different. Serbian fascism is without a single ally, while Yeltsin's extremely sharp condemnation of the adventurist policy of the Bosnian Serbs [words indistinct] of the aggressor's political failure. On the political level, Clinton will try to persuade his allies in London not to oppose military intervention, since the Russians and the French have practically given their consent. Even the Chinese are unlikely to cause problems in the Security Council regarding an issue which is European, and therefore of secondary importance to them.

In this way, the Security Council would put their seal on the decision to go ahead with air strikes, because Washington is not ready to punish the aggressor by way of unilateral action, although similar actions have been successful in Panama and Grenada, and partly even in Libya. However, before putting into gear the powerful war machine of the West, diplomacy will be given a final chance. Tomorrow in Athens, Butrus Butrus-Ghali is once again assembling all the players in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict. On 5 May, the deputies of the self-proclaimed Serbian assembly in Bosnia are retaking their examination, probably their final chance. If this also fails, and if the aggressor does not accept peace and the Vance-Owen plan, the only thing left will be the use of force.

Tudjman Optimistic After Athens Meeting

LD0205155993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic signed the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina in Athens this afternoon. Republic of Croatia Presiedent Franjo Tudjman returned this afternoon from the peace negotiations in Athens and an official visit to Turkey this afternoon. Upon his arrival in Zagreb, he made a statement for journalists at Zagreb airport. Tihomir Vinkovic has more.

[Vinkovic] President Tudjman said that he went to Athens after shortening his visit to Turkey. This was the latest attempt to solve the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the status of the UN protected areas in Croatia in a peaceful way, President Tudjman said and added:

[Begin Tudjman recording] I went there because the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia phoned me at night from New York and assured me that success can be expected, or if not, that this would be the last moment and a sign to the international action [as heard] that it must take resolute action.

After all, I spoke with Turkish Prime Minister Mr. Demirel along the same lines. We agreed that after the Athens meeting, if no results were achieved, that we, who took part in the talks and suspended them, as well as the whole world, would have good grounds to take military action without further delay.

We held bilateral talks in Athens. The talks were not so much within the framework of the conference, but bilateral talks with all participants. As you know, Karadzic finally signed, and the other representatives of Serbia spoke in favor of normalizing relations with Croatia. This in itself means the recognition of Croatia within its internationally recognized borders. Of course, they have not yet signed this, but that moment will come soon. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] President Tudjman said that we can be optimist.

[Begin Tudjman recording] Even if they tried to cheat, it is certain that there will be no further haggling, but that an action by the international community will follow. After all, during my stay in Ankara I received a request from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain asking us to allow a NATO fleet to enter Croatia's territorial waters. What is most important for us is that international factors are on our side, i.e. that our policy has been recognized, thus guaranteeing Croatia's sovereignty and ensuring support for our further economic development. [end recording]

[Vinkovic] Croatia signed an agreement on a $100 million loan in Turkey. This is important assistance for the development of the Croatian economy, President Tudjman said.

Government Adopts Regulations on UN Sanctions

LD3004181693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] At a session today the Croatian Government adopted regulations on the implementation of the UN Security Council resolutions in connection with sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. Jasenka Dudic reports:

[Dudic] The regulations ban the import and export of goods and services originating from Serbia and Montenegro, apart from goods intended for medical purposes and food articles for which a special permission from the relevant minister is necessary. At the same time, legal and physical entities are banned from engaging in all economic activities and doing business with all physical and legal entities from countries doing business with legal entities from Serbia and Montenegro.

Transit of goods originating from the so-called FRY through Croatia is banned, which also refers to transit of goods originating from Croatia through FRY. All investments in and from Serbia and Montenegro by legal and physical entities are banned. Tour operators, carriers, and travel agencies from FRY are banned from doing business in Croatia. All bans also refer to UN-protected areas.

Physical entities from Serbia and Montenegro permanently moving into Croatia and those permanently moving out to Serbia and Montenegro are exempt from these bans. Government ministries have been tasked to immediately draw up implementation regulations. The government determined 18 rail and road border crossings with Serbia and Montenegro, out of which only five will be in use for transit.

Tudjman Receives U.S. Senate Delegation

LD0305000793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Before more detailed news about reactions to the peace plan, here is news from Zagreb, where President Franjo Tudjman of the Republic of Croatia received a delegation from the U.S. Senate headed by the Democratic senator and chairman of the armed services committee, Sam Nunn, and Republican Richard Lugar, an official in the foreign relations committee.

President Tudjman informed the eminent guests about the situation in Croatia, and said that, despite the war which it did not want, but which was imposed upon it by the communist and Greater Serbian forces, Croatia had achieved outstanding results in the creation of a democratic system and in its economic transformation to a free market country. He stressed the consistency of Croatia's peace-loving policy and the cooperation of Croatia's representatives with the international community.

During lengthy talks, members of the top American delegation showed special interest in Croatian positions on halting the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They discussed the possibility of military intervention under the auspices of the United Nations, and the lifting of the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. If the Serb side does not stop the brutal aggression and does not accept the effective implementation of the Vance-Owen plan, President Tudjman stressed that military intervention would be justified and necessary, primarily air strikes against Serb military targets in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It would also be justified to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in that case the embargo on Croatia should certainly be lifted as well, President Tudjman stressed.

At the same time, he noted the importance of accepting and consistently implementing the Vance-Owen plan, under the strict observance of the United Nations, because halting the war and reaching a political solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina as a state community of three sovereign nations would greatly help to halt the continuing Serb aggression against Croatia. That would also make possible the implementation of the Vance plan and Security Council resolutions in the occupied areas of the Republic of Croatia, by which Croatia's state and legal order would be restored in all areas within its internationally recognized borders.

Assembly President Stipe Mesic and Prime Minister Nikica Valentic were among others attending the talks with the top American delegation.

Croatian Forces Open Fire on RSK Villages

LD0205110093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0857 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Knin, May 2 (TANJUG)—Croatian forces on Sunday opened fire with mortars on villages in the U.N.-protected Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

The RSK Army Command said the attack on the villages of Biljane Donje and Smiljcic, on the Benkovac-Zadar axis in northern Dalmatia, took place at 06:25 local time.

The Croats also opened fire with tank guns on Serb defensive positions west of Benkovac, and continued intensive movements in the areas of Mount Velebit and Pakovo Selo, near Drnis.

Transit Restrictions Imposed on Yugoslavs

AU0105153393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 May 93

[Dragoslav Kosaric report from Ljubljana]

[Excerpt] Even though not one single Slovene newspaper yesterday published the information that the Slovene Government, as a form of additional sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is forbidding entry and transit travel to Yugoslav citizens, this measure became effective last night. To enter Slovenia in the future, FRY citizens must have a guarantee letter from a relative in Slovenia. This letter has to be notarized by the relevant Slovene court. Business, tourist, or any other form of visits to Slovenia are not possible until further notice.

The situation is also similar for transit travelers. Travelers who do not have a working visa of the country they plan to travel to via Slovenia cannot transit through this little country. In both cases, if they meet the set conditions, FRY citizens have to pay either the residence tax or the transit visa, which is 20 and 18 German marks respectively.

Last night, over 50 percent of the passengers from six buses on regular Belgrade-Ljubljana routes were returned to the Hungarian side from the Duga Vlas border crossing. Many more were returned from two buses with Italian plates, which were taking travelers from Pozarevac to Italy. These people will head back to Yugoslavia this evening in (?Jatrasa) buses. [passage omitted]

Jansa Threatens Italy, Croatia With Army

LD0105182793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] Ljubljana, May 1 (TANJUG)—The problem of Slovenia's borders with Italy and Croatia has gained another dimension after Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa recently warned Italy and Croatia that 'the Slovene Army, too, will defend Slovene borders if necessary'.

During his recent visit to the Murska Sobota troops, Jansa said that the 'Osimo Accords definitely determined Slovenia's border with Italy' and that 'international arbitration' would step in should border problems with Croatia arise. If not, 'Italy and Croatia will face the Slovene Army', Jansa warned.

The Croatian Border Committee officially said before its meeting with the Slovene Border Committee on May 7 that it rejected the 'Slovene proposal for resolving the problem of the Adriatic [word indistinct] gulf' on the Slovene-Croat border.

Ministry Denies Border Conflict With Croatia

LD0105202093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 1 May 93

[Text] The Slovene Defense Ministry has denied claims in an article carried by the REPUBBLICA newspaper of Ljubljana and Trieste, to the effect that the Slovene territorial defense is in a state of heightened alert and that it has called up many reserve unit members because of Croatia's alleged intention to forcibly seize Sveta Gera on the Slovene-Croatian border. The Slovene Defense Ministry announced that the article in REPUBBLICA, published yesterday under the title "Will Croatia forcibly occupy Trdinov Vrh, that is, Sveta Gera?", contains numerous erroneous conclusions and false assertions, including those about the state of heightened alert and the mobilization of reservists. The Ministry said that there have not been any special call-ups to members of reserve units in the Novo Mesto area lately.

REPUBBLICA published the article on the basis of an interview with Zmaga Jelincic, chairman of the Committee of the State Defense Corps, who claimed that Croatian-Slovene relations might seriously deteriorate very soon. According to REPUBBLICA, Jelincic also said that Croatia is preparing to occupy Sveta Gera at the beginning of May, and that many members of the reserve units in the Novo Mesto area have received orders.

Federal

Cosic Views Karadzic Signing of Peace Agreement

AU0205174193 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 2 May 93

[Statement by FRY President Dobrica Cosic to Zoran Jevdjevic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjevic] Do you expect new relations between the representatives of Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro—and the representatives of the Serbian republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina]? Will somebody, perhaps, attend the assembly of the Serbian republic?

[Cosic] In the hopes of convincing our brothers in Bosnia-Herzegovina that it is good, useful, in the interest of peace, and in the best interest of the Serbian nation to sign the Vance-Owen plan in its present form—that is, with certain amendments and clarifications—and, therefore, in the desire that the doubts they experience and the grave disillusionments that they have suffered in this civil war, as well as in efforts to achieve a cease-fire, to achieve a sort of justice on this territory, and bearing in mind that this nation lives in existential fear, surrounded by threats that have historic roots, because this nation suffered two or three genocides, all three of us—[Montenegrin President] Mr. Bulatovic, [Serbian President] Mr. Milosevic, and me—were willing [pauses] to explain the character of this agreement and in the hopes that our people embrace it as fully as possible, to embrace this agreement as a reason for abatement, feel secure, restore peace, work, and lead a normal life, we naturally agreed that we will also attend the assembly, if need be. [sentence as heard]

[Greek Prime Minister] Mitsotakis also explicitly stated his readiness to attend the assembly and tell the Serbs how significant the signed agreement is. He also believes that this agreement is not only of Serbian and Bosnian importance, but also Balkan and European importance.

Cosic Sends 'Special Messages' to World Leaders

LD3004182693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 April (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic today sent special messages to French President Mitterrand, Chinese President Jiang Zemin, British Prime Minister John Major, and United Nations Secretary General Butrus Ghali.

As it has been learned from the office of the Yugoslav president, the messages are in connection with Dobrica Cosic's diplomatic initiative for an international conference on the resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina. [passage omitted]

In the messages sent today Cosic asks for support to be given to the additional peace efforts in the resolution of the Bosnian crisis.

Messages of similar content were sent by President Cosic to U.S. President Clinton and Russian President Yeltsin yesterday.

Ministers Request WHO Warn UN Over Sanctions

LD2904175193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Belgrade, April 29 (TANJUG)—The Health and Welfare Ministers of Yugoslavia and Serbia, Velibor Popovic and Milos Banicevic, said on Thursday [29 April] that [words indistinct] service and the pharmaceutical industry could not be subjected to sanctions.

The ministers called on the Secretariat of the World Health Organization (WHO) to warn WHO member-states and the U.N. Security Council Commission for Sanctions that a resolution of the WHO Assembly specifies that medical services and the pharmaceutical industry cannot be subjected to sanctions.

TANJUG learned on Thursday that Popovic and Banicevic were hosts to a ranking WHO official of the European Office, Sergey Luculescu and the head of the WHO Belgrade Bureau, Hannu Vuori.

The WHO officials were informed about the above request and the dramatic health situation in Yugoslavia and the deteriorating health of Yugoslavs because of the U.N. sanctions.

The WHO officials said the Belgrade office would step up its efforts, expecting U.N. Resolution 820 to further aggravate the health and welfare conditions in Yugoslavia.

The WHO coordinates the distribution of humanitarian aid of all U.N. agencies concerned with health matters in the former Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia has around 10 million inhabitants and 600,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Of the total number of refugees, 300,000 are children.

Ministry Official Outlines Traffic Plan

AU3004070093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Statement by Petar Radenovic, assistant federal minister for traffic and communications; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] The functioning of traffic under the conditions of sanctions adopted by the Security Council and with Resolution 820 in particular must be adjusted to domestic material resources. It is known that Yugoslavia possesses energy resources for operating road traffic that is now a third of what it was in the past. Therefore, the traffic will be considerably reduced so that we can enable it to operate within our existing material resources.

As the railroads are electrified for the most part, priority will be given to railroad traffic with a lower specific energy consumption per unit of transportation output. Also, where there is parallel functioning of road and railroad traffic using diesel locomotives, the latter will certainly be given priority owing to their lower energy consumption.

The Federal Government will also suggest measures to rationalize both domestic passenger and freight road transport, as some transport is uneconomical now. Therefore there will be a better utilization of capacities and a reduction in the number of empty travel [prazna voznja], and thereby greater transport output with lower energy consumption, so that transport of both passengers and goods will be at a level that would meet the needs of both the economy and the population.

Serbia

Milosevic Praises Agreement, Urges Lifting of Sanctions

AU0205213293 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 May 93

[News conference by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic with unidentified foreign and domestic correspondents at Belgrade airport on 2 May—live]

[Text] [Correspondent] Are we any closer to the end of the war now that the Serbs have accepted the peace plan?

[Milosevic] I think that there is no doubt that the Athens conference is a big success. Saying a big success is perhaps not enough. The conference is the key fact and the key step toward peace in this part of the Balkans and I am convinced that its decisions will enjoy general support. This is the basis for its decisions to be successfully carried out.

[Correspondent] It is certainly a problem that the Croats and the Muslims are killing each other in central Bosnia, regardless of the fact that the Serbs have accepted the peace plan. What does this mean?

[Milosevic] This means that they have not settled their differences yet. However, we do not care and one should certainly not look at these clashes maliciously. [passage as heard] We want all of them to stop fighting. I hope that all sides will respect the plan.

[Correspondent] What contributed toward the signing of the plan in Athens when it was not signed in Geneva or...?

[Milosevic] As far as the Greeks are concerned, I can tell you that Athens and Greece, which we consider a friendly country, and the Greek people contributed greatly to the successful conclusion of the conference. I would particularly like to say to you Greeks that you have helped us so much. I would like say thank you to the entire Greek people, the Greek Government, and Prime Minister Mitsotakis for a very well-organized conference and the great help that he extended to us. After all, we expected something like this from Greece. Believe me, we felt at home in Greece.

[Correspondent] Are there guarantees that the sanctions will be lifted?

[Milosevic] There is no doubt, and we discussed this with the cochairmen in the second part of our talks today. There is no doubt that this step is raising the question of sanctions as a whole. I would like to remind you of a firm stand, not only of the cochairmen of the conference but also a stand expressed a few weeks ago by French President Mitterrand who told me during my visit in Paris that the moment the peace plan is signed, the moment that a sensible cease-fire has been established, irrespective of minor incidents here and there, his stand and the stand of France is that the sanctions should be completely lifted—not that they should be in a way reduced but completely lifted.

We expect that if the war in Bosnia was the reason for the sanctions, that the sanctions should indeed be lifted very soon, although, as you know, there was no justification whatsoever for them to be introduced in the first place. The UN reports confirmed many times that we did not have a single soldier in Bosnia. Therefore, this is a hypocritical approach that has inflicted great damage on us, and after everything that has happened, will, in my firm belief have no reason to remain.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Are you sure that the [Bosnian Serb] parliament will accept the Vance-Owen document?

[Milosevic] I believe that they will accept it simply because it is in the interests of the Serbian people in Bosnia. Peace is in the interests of the Serbian people as a whole. Therefore, I do not think that the parliament of the Serbian republic could adopt a decision that could be so drastically opposed to the interests of the Serbian people. Therefore I believe that the parliament of the Serbian republic will accept it.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. President, what do you think will happen if the Bosnian parliament rejects the Vance-Owen plan on Wednesday [5 May]?

[Milosevic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I do not think that this will happen. I believe that they will support peace. They favor peace. They have proven many times that they favor peace. Because of that, I think that it is clear they will support it.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. Milosevic, can you tell me why you encouraged Mr. Karadzic to sign the plan?

[Milosevic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] You have to understand that we held substantial talks with Lord Owen last week and with

Vance and Owen in Athens yesterday. Some very important new steps forward were made. One of them is the complete clarification of equality. This means that the Serbs have regained their status of a constituent nation. Even the rules of procedures of this tripartite presidency will be decided through a consensus. This means that if they are becoming equal again, then this is a very important political step.

The other thing, which is also important, is the safety of the people. It was fully clarified and clearly stated at the conference yesterday that wherever the Serbs live outside the Serbian territories in their villages, the Croatian Defense Council and the green berets [Bosnian Army] will not be allowed to come into those territories. This means that only UN troops will hold these territories. This is very important for the safety of the people.

You know, the main reason of the conflict and fighting was inequality, when the Serbs' status of a constituent nation was virtually destroyed with the truncated referendum and decisions. The other matter is, of course, safety. The Serbian people should be free and equal. If the guarantees for the freedom and equality of Serbs exist, these are very important and crucial reasons for accepting the plan. This means that after the acceptance, all other open questions will be resolved at the conference table and not in the battlefields. This is the most important thing.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, will (?anyone) travel to Pale to directly address the [Bosnian] assembly?

[Milosevic] I did not understand your question.

[Correspondent] TANJUG reports that you have made yourself available to the assembly in Pale.

[Milosevic] Yes, we are available. Therefore, if they think that this is necessary, then we will most certainly go there.

[Correspondent] President Milosevic, can you say for VECERNJE NOVOSTI [words indistinct].

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Mr. President, do you think that this signature means the end of fighting?

[Milosevic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] This is a serious signature.

[Correspondent, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Will the fighting stop very soon?

[Milosevic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Well, as I know, the Serbian side is observing the cease-fire. As I also know, only the Muslims and Croats are killing one another in central Bosnia. I believe that the Serbian side will respect the cease-fire. The violation of the cease-fire is against the interests of the Serb people. I think that this will be clear to all.

[Correspondent] Mr. Milosevic, can I ask you something? The Security Council, that is, Lord Owen said that the Security Council should urgently adopt measures for implementing the Vance-Owen plan, regardless of the decision of the assembly of the Serbian republic. What does this mean in practice?

[Milosevic] I think that this is some [changes thought] that you have either not understood this interpretation or that this is probably something that was said later. There is no doubt that the plan will take effect only when it is officially ratified by all three sides. The assembly on Pale is awaited to ratify the Serb stand.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

Milosevic Assesses Athens Talks

AU0205182293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 2 May 93

[Interview with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic by Miodrag Vucelic in Athens on 2 May—recorded]

[Text] [Vucelic] President Milosevic, how do you assess the work and the results of the Athens conference?

[Milosevic] The result is obviously so great that it perhaps does not even need a comment. It would not be sufficient enough to say that the result is major or big. It would be more appropriate to label it the decisive step for finally achieving peace in the Balkans and not just any peace but lasting and just peace. I am sure that the decisions of the Athens conference will have an enormous significance on the interests of our entire nation.

[Vucelic] Do you believe that the assembly of the Serbian republic will ratify the Vance-Owen plan at (?its session scheduled for 5 May)?

[Milosevic] I think that the assembly of the Serbian republic cannot make a decision that is against the interests of the Serbian people. Therefore, I am convinced that the assembly of the Serbian republic can and should accept this plan. What is probably needed is to analyze all elements of the plan and the significance of the results achieved in the recent negotiations. I am referring to the talks held in Belgrade last week, as well as these in Athens, (?contained) after all in the statement by the cochairmen and finally in the results of the documents of the conference itself.

Since this is a very serious question on which the further course of things depend, I would also like to stress some important elements and reasons as to why this is necessary and justified. In short, I would say that there are three aspects of the issue that one should bear in mind: territorial, state, and security aspects.

I would like to say something about each one of these important elements. First, regarding the territory, it is quite clear that according to this plan, according to the letter of this plan, the Serbs got 45 percent of the territory. On the other hand, there are no circumstances

whatsoever that could prevent links between the Serbian provinces, which is the most important thing. Therefore, from the point of view of this territorial aspect, no one who is objective could make any significant objections, especially if one bears in mind the fact that the document, which was signed today by the three cochairmen, as there are three of them now, together with the president of the Serbian republic, the question of the provisional borders is still open. This question will be settled through the mechanism envisaged by the plan and in a way, I hope, that will fully affirm the interests of all three peoples and thus the Serbian people. Therefore, considering prospects and the course of things, I do not see any major reasons from this territorial point of view, and of course, considering open demands and the need for [words indistinct].

The other aspect of things, I would say, is the state or political aspect. The Serbian people have regained the status of an equal constituent nation. When they were virtually deprived of this status with the so-called referendum, which was illegal and illegitimate, big clashes broke out. No one was simply prepared to reconcile with such an usurpation of the rights of the Serbian people.

We are not only talking about a declarative return of this status of the equal, constituent nation but also the whole mechanism that will ensure that all major issues are solved through a consensus. Therefore, there is absolutely no danger of a decision being made against the interests that will be expressed by the representatives of the Serbian people in this tripartite presidency that should appear in the political scene and perform duties that belong to it.

Third, but in my view the most important aspect, is the security aspect. During the talks in Belgrade and which were continued here and confirmed in the official documents of the conference in Athens, in addition to the territories that were included in the Serbian provinces, neither the Croatian Defense Council nor the green berets [Bosnian Army] will be allowed access to all other territories outside the Serbian provinces where the Serbs live but rather only UN forces. In practice, this means that there is absolutely no reason for the Serbs who find themselves even in this transitional arrangement before the borders are fixed, and they are referred to as provisional borders that are yet to be discussed, outside the borders of the Serbian provinces, have no reason to leave their hearths and homes because the enemy army will not be able to come to these territories.

I think that this is a key question for the understanding of the entire plan and I believe that this is a very stable guarantee for the successful settlement of the remaining outstanding questions.

To sum up, when territorial, political-state, and security aspects are borne in mind, as well as the size of the remaining outstanding questions, then everyone should understand that the time has come for the outstanding issues, which are incomparably smaller in relation to what has so far been resolved and regained, to be solved through the mechanism of the plan itself and not through the war and on the battlefields.

Therefore, it is obvious that the best way to resolve the remaining issues, of the remaining issues to be resolved at the conference table and not further confrontations and bloodshed, is more than anything else in the interest of all three peoples and thus the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina. If sacrifices are made, then they are made for some interests. When these interests have been achieved, then unnecessary victims can only be big mistakes.

Therefore, I am convinced that the remaining outstanding issues can be successfully resolved through the negotiating mechanism envisaged by the plan. You should also bear in mind the fact that in the last few months, the representatives of the Serbian republic justifiably insisted on direct contacts with the Croatian and Muslim sides so as to continue negotiations on the final solution concerning maps. What more direct way of talks can you have than a tripartite presidency, which represents a continuous, direct, and institutionalized form of the direct harmonization of mutual interests.

No side should deny the right of other sides to the interests that do not affect its interests. I am sure that in this process good solutions could be found for the remaining outstanding issues.

[Vucelic] [Words indistinct] that is facing us. What would you give priority to? To what issues, problems, and points of arguments that you (?mentioned) would you give priority?

[Milosevic] There is no doubt that at this moment the strict observance of the cease-fire is the number one priority. I must say that those who fail to understand that the failure to observe the cease-fire is the crudest attack on the interests of their own people, and that such people must be prevented from violating the cease-fire. The strict observance of the cease-fire is the absolute priority and the first step.

I hope that the assembly of the Serbian republic will carefully analyze all these arguments and pay considerable attention to the observance of the cease-fire and the creation of conditions for the plan to be realized. I hope that the assembly of the Serbian republic, in pursuing the interests of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina—and I am sure that it knows that the people are fed up with the war and that they want peace—will behave in this way. This means that the assembly of the Serbian republic should try to simply reject the views that we heard from some responsible leaders. Let me be completely open. If someone can say that 6 million Serbs can die but that there will still be 6 million more Serbs that will survive, then people who make such statements and people who generally think along such lines, if their place is not in a hospital, then they should probably, and I am in fact sure, be banned

from any public work. Problems and interests of this nation cannot be resolved with such ideas.

I am sure that the assembly and the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina can recognize what their real interests are and what are not and what the expression of patriotism in the way that contradicts the real and historical national interests of their people are. I am sure that among these interests the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina will recognize peace as one of their prime interests. I hope and expect the assembly of the Serbian republic, in the spirit of historical interests of the Serbian people, now that we are talking about just peace and not just any peace, will adopt a decision that we all expect it to make it—the decision that is, after all, expected of it by the entire Serbia and Yugoslavia.

[Vucelic] Finally, Mr. President, we cannot but mention the role of Greece as the host of this meeting in Athens and the role of Prime Minister Mitsotakis.

[Milosevic] I would like to use this opportunity to particularly thank the friendly Greek people, the Greek state and government, and Prime Minister Mitsotakis. They greatly contributed to the success of this conference. This is perhaps, in a way, a fact that symbolizes our friendship. No one could have expected something unfavorable to happen to the Serbian people here in the heart of Greece, in Athens. I believe that they will be aware of our gratitude for everything they extended to us.

Serbian Parties' Reactions to Athens Agreement

LD0205192093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 2 May 93

[Text] Belgrade, May 2 (TANJUG)—Political parties in Serbia, one of the two republics in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, on Sunday assessed that the signing of the latest version of the plan proposed by mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen in Athens on Sunday marked a major and encouraging step towards peace in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina because it showed that reason and responsibility have prevailed.

On May 5, the Bosnian Serb parliament will reach a final decision on the plan, which has already been signed by the Moslem and Croat sides.

Spokesman for the Socialist Party of Serbia, the ruling party in Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ivica Dacic told TANJUG that the conditional initialling of the plan by Bosnian Serb Leader Radovan Karadzic was yet another proof that the Serbian people had been vitally interested in peace and just solutions from the very beginning of the Yugoslav crisis.

'However, real peace depends primarily on whether the international community will stop making mistakes in the Yugoslav crisis,' said Dacic.

In his view, 'all efforts must now be directed towards maintaining the ceasefire, the settling of controversial issues and a speedy implementation of the peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

President of the opposition Democratic Party Dragoljub Micunovic said that the news from Athens had 'forestalled the announced escalation of conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina.'

'The reconsidering of the decision of the Bosnian Serb parliament shows political responsibility and maturity of the Bosnian Serb leadership as well as readiness to make decisions in the interest of all Serbs and the citizens of Yugoslavia,' he said.

'It is essential that the international community should at once lift the package of sanctions which had been conditional on the signing of the Vance-Owen plan and that a process of lifting all other sanctions should also begin,' said Micunovic.

The securing of conditions for concretizing and realising the plan without evasion or delay is now a priority and Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia should give their contribution in that direction. Their wise moves, international agreements and reputation abroad will guarantee a safe future to all Serbs outside Serbia - said President of one of the two Social Democratic parties Cedomir Mirkovic.

Over Half of Serbia's Refugees Come From Bosnia

LD0205121193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1151 GMT 2 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, May 2 (TANJUG)—More than half of the 600,000 refugees registered in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia are from the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The official figures of the Red Cross of Serbia show that 217,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, 37,000 refugees from Slovenia and 3,000 refugees from the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia have found refuge in Serbia.

Serbs account for 84 percent of the refugees. There are 37,000 Moslems, 9,000 Croats and 47,000 other nationalities among refugees.

About 215,000 refugees are under 18 and almost one-half of them are under seven. There are 97,000 primary-school children and 52,000 high-school children, while 1,200 children are without parents' guidance.

A great number of refugees, about 572,000, are staying at their relatives', friends' or unknown peoples' houses. 18,000 refugees are accommodated in refugee centres.

Taking into consideration that the economic situation of the families accommodating refugees is deteriorating due to the tightening of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia, the Red Cross of Serbia estimated that accommodation will have to be provided for about 200,000 refugees this year.

Over 60,000 refugees have been registered in the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro.

Refugee Commissariat Appeals to UN Against Sanctions

LD0105104893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0946 GMT 1 May 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, May 1 (TANJUG)—The implementation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 820 has hit hard not only the Serbian people but also represents a direct threat to the over half-a-million refugees, including over a quarter of a million children, the Serbian Commissariat for Refugees said in a letter to U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata.

The commissariat said that the U.N. had imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia the harshest sanctions it had ever levied on any country. The sanctions have affected not only the Serbian people, but also refugees of all nationalities who have sought sanctuary in the Republic of Serbia, the commissariat said.

It added that there were in the Republic of Serbia some 600,000 refugees, including 260,000 children, and that the international community was completely ignoring the larger of Yugoslavia's two federal units and thereby directly endangering refugees simply because they happened to be in Serbia.

The commissariat on behalf of those blameless people asked Ogata to raise her voice in the U.N. against the sanctions, especially as regards humanitarian assistance.

Serbia's and Yugoslavia's health ministers on Thursday [29 April] demanded that the World Health Organization (WHO) caution its members and the U.N. Sanctions Monitoring Committee that the health sector and pharmaceuticals industry were not encompassed by the sanctions.

The WHO coordinates the humanitarian aid effort in former Yugoslavia of all U.N. agencies concerned with health matters.

Seselj Proposes Dividing Macedonia

AU3004133193 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 27 Apr 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Vojslav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, by Belgrade correspondent Velizar Enchev; place and date not given: "The Serbs Will Not Surrender"]

[Text] [Enchev] Mr. Seselj, there is no longer any doubt that if the Serbs refuse to sign the Vance-Owen peace plan by 26 April, a further tightening of the noose around the neck of Serbia-Montenegro Yugoslavia should be expected. How do you assess the problem?

[Seselj] I think the final objective of the Western forces is to start a military intervention against our territory. I am expecting them soon to raid some targets in the Republic of Serbia and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, most probably the bridges over the Drina River, to force the Bosnian Serbs to surrender. However, they are deluding themselves on this point, because such actions are likely to encourage the Serbian people to put up even more resolute resistance against the aggressor.

[Enchev] Does this mean you are prepared for war?

[Seselj] As long as we are living on this territory, as a Balkan nation, we must be prepared for war at any time. This is our destiny, such is our history. A war waged under the present circumstances would place us in a very difficult position, in view of the very strict sanctions and economic blockades to which our country has been subject over the last year. We are expected to surrender, we are expected to commit suicide. If we have no other way out, we shall resist with all our efforts, and then, let it be...

[Enchev] Nevertheless, this would mean that you are waging war against the rest of the world....

[Seselj] It is not a war against the world. It will be a war against the United States, Germany, and the other Western countries, which completely dominate the UN. In theory it seems to be a war against the rest of the world, but it is actually directed only against the Western powers.

[Enchev] It is an open secret that you and your party are opposed to Russia's President Yeltsin. Russia cannot always support you, the Serbs....

[Seselj] You should not forget that the Kremlin has always protected the Bulgarians as well, and not only the Serbs. Neither Serbs nor Bulgarians would ever have liberated themselves from the Turkish oppression without Russia's assistance.

[Enchev] You support the establshment of an alliance of Eastern Orthodox countries. However, a similar alliance failed as early as in 1913....

[Seselj] It failed, unfortunately, because of the interference of foreign powers, such as the Austro-Hungarian empire. The chief problem of the Balkan countries has always been that the Western forces managed to cause a quarrel between Serbs and Bulgarians. We are convinced that Serbs and Bulgarians should open a new page in their history, because our interests are closely related, as a matter of fact.

Our party is striving for better relations with Bulgaria, Romania, and Greece, because our survival is at stake.

You see how the West keeps attacking Bulgaria. The attacks are not as over as those against our country, because Bulgaria's turn has not come yet. In addition to this, you Bulgarians, are greatly interfering with the U.S. plans concerning Turkey. The Americans are trying to bring Turkey back to the Balkans, but the only way of doing so is by using Bulgaria and Greece.

[Enchev] You said that Bulgaria and Serbia share the same interests. In this connection I would like to remind you that years ago you proposed that Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece should divide Macedonia among themselves. Do you have any new ideas in this respect?

[Seselj] I hardly think that the newly created state of Macedonia can survive. It borrowed the name of an ancient Greek state and adopted its symbols. As far as the Christian population inhabiting Macedonia is concerned, they are Serbs, Bulgarians, and Greeks. The number of Serbs amounts to approximately 300,000; the Bulgarians are 700,000, and a few Aromanians [small ethnic group speaking a language similar to Romanian] also live in the area. However, 40 percent of the entire population in Macedonia are Albanians. The Macedonian Government is headed by an old communist clique today. Its members are trying to establish their own state at all costs, regardless of the consequences. We are convinced that the best solution for Macedonia would be to remain a unit of the Yugoslav federal state. Considering that this alternative is no longer valid, and having no intention whatever of forcing anyone to be part of our state, the only sensible solution would be to divide Macedonia on the basis of the ethnic principle. The areas inhabited by Bulgarians should be annexed to Bulgaria. The territories inhabited by Serbs should become part of Serbia, while Western Macedonia, inhabited by an overwhelming majority of Albanians, should be annexed to Albania. I hardly think any of us would like to have so many Albanians on his territory. Hence, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece were able to agree on this question. The Albanians can hardly await the final recognition of Macedonia's independence to start their armed uprising. They are armed to their teeth, while Macedonia has no army at all, and is hardly expected to have one in the near future. Hence, the Christian population is defenseless.

Cooperation With Iraq on Missile Program Reported

AU3004090293 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 29 Apr 93 p 24

[Report by Andrzej Rybak: "Infernal Duo"]

[Text] The guest from Serbia relapsed to the communist jargon of the Cold War: "U.S. imperialism is trying to destroy the unity of the Third World," Belgrade's commander in chief, General Zivota Panic, claimed; "the unilateral dominance of the United States in the world cannot be accepted any longer."

The words of the Serbian chief of staff must have sounded like music to his hosts in Baghdad, because since the Iraqi invasion in Kuwait more than two and a half years ago statements of solidarity with Saddam Husayn have been rare. Promptly, the Iraqi news agency INA disseminated a report on the visit—making the Serbs angry, because they wanted to keep the general's visit secret.

Panic's trip to Iraq in mid-March was hardly intended to provide statements of solidarity. Officially, the Serbian and Iraqi Defense Minister 'Ali Hasan al-Majid signed a trade agreement. However, they primarily agreed on arms deliveries. "The agreement with Iraq is of a military nature," Nada Spasic, who is responsible for Iraq in the Belgrade Economic Chamber, confirms. "Therefore, we cannot reveal any details."

According to information by Slovene military experts, Belgrade promised Iraq the servicing of Iraqi MiG-23 plans and the delivery of M-84 tanks. In return, Iraq wants to export oil to Serbia. The deal is to be conducted by trading companies, which are founded by both partners in the Mediterranean area—Serbia, which was subjected to new sanctions on Monday [26 April], wants to use Iraq's experience with the embargo for this purpose. However, Belgrade was mostly interested in intensifying scientific cooperation for the development of new arms systems. The issue is "components for missiles of a new generation, as they are developed by the Serbian armament industry," Slovenia's UN Ambassador Anton Bebler says.

Serbia has been working on the development of missile systems since the mid-1960's. The first missile of the "Plamen" (Flame) type had a range of 15 km. The follow-up model "Oganj" (Fire) had a range of 27 km. At the end of the 1970's a missile called M-87 Orkan with a caliber of 262 mm and a range of 50 km was built.

The "Orkan" project was realized with financial and technical support from Iraq. Since the 1960's, relations between the two countries have been excellent: Before the Gulf War, 23 companies and 2,600 Serban experts worked in Iraq; Baghdad was the biggest purchaser of armament goods in Yugoslavia.

Serbia's armament production is still in full swing. The weapons factories "Krusik" in Valjevo and "Zastava" in Kragujevac work around the clock. "We have fulfilled our production plan for 1992," Vukasin Filipovic, director of "Zastava," says. However, the military is not satisfied: "You must be able to produce missiles that fly 600 or even 1,000 km," Chief of Staff Panic demanded during his visit to "Krusik" last year, "because only then will the defense of the FRY be ensured."

At the Military Technical College in Belgrade, people are feverishly working on new technologies. Now Iraqi scientists are obviously supposed to teach the Serbian missiles the "big flight." Could this be achieved soon? Serbian generals claim that if the West decides to make

a military intervention, they will carry the war to Europe and attack Zagreb, Vienna, and Berlin.

Even though the Croatian Intelligence Service does not believe that Serbia can produce missiles with a range of more than 100 km on its own, Croatian UN Ambassador Mario Nobilo has repeatedly warned that Yugoslavia might get missile components and know-how in Iraq and North Korea.

Iraq and North Korea also have great experience with the equipment of missiles from Russian and U.S. production. Before the crumbling of Tito's Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav Army had two missile types of Russian make: "Luna-M" (the NATO name is Frog-7), a ballistic missile with a range of 70 km, and SS-N-3 (Shaddock), a cruise missile for coastal defense with a range of 300 km. Modernizing these systems is difficult but not impossible.

In addition, indications are mounting that Serbia has Scud-B missiles. At a meeting of the Western European Union (WEU) in Rome last week, independent Italian military expert Andrew Nativi warned that Serbia might have bought Scud-B missiles in an East European country.

With the help of the Iraqis, whose Scud-B missiles terrified Tel Aviv during the Gulf War, Serbia might be able to attack Berlin, as the generals claim.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Interviewed on Athens Meeting

AU0205215193 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 2 May 93

[Interview with Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic by Zoran Jevdjovic in Athens; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Now that the Athens summit is over, how would you assess the meeting that was, I would say, as dramatic as it was significant.

[Bulatovic] Well, I am not sure whether it was really all that dramatic. It seems that we have sailed into the waters of rational diplomacy. I believe it was unusually significant that the Serbian republic and its representatives presented only objective reservations, fears, and the need to guarantee security and protection to the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina through the mechanisms of international diplomacy, as well as to other nations, which is an essential prerequisite for peace.

It is evident that there is still plenty of work and activities to be undertaken in this direction. However, I believe that we made a decisive step in Athens today, a step toward peace. I believe that the Serbian people in Bosnia-Herzegovina will manage to accomplish their national, state-forming, and all other rights through peace and democracy instead of through war and the use of arms. That is precisely what the entire world supports and will not oppose.

[Jevdjovic] There have been speculations recently in view of some of your statements, or rather, they way they were carried in the foreign press concerning the Serbian republic and the policy pursued by the leadership of the Serbian republic. There have been other speculations concerning Montenegro's position within Bosnia-Herzegovina, that is, within Yugoslavia. Did this event strengthen the position or has something changed?

[Bulatovic] Absolutely not. I believe that the Assembly of the Republic of Montenegro firmly supported the peace process. All these interpretations have their political background. I believe that the FRY is emerging absolutely unanimous and democratically even stronger from this entire process. I believe that all the problems on the territory of the former Yugoslavia will in the long run nevertheless be resolved by peace and not by war, and this is the essential guarantee for the realization of everybody's rights on these territories.

[Jevdjovic] Does this mean that Montenegro will also defend the interests of the entire Serbian nation and the interests of the FRY, as well as the interests of all others who live FRY territory?

[Bulatovic] I believe that we have demonstrated and proven this so far. There will be absolutely no problems with Montenegro in any respect. We have set on the path of democracy, which we also sincerely wish to others because we know that we can resolve looming problems only through democracy.

[Jevdjovic] Do you get along personally with the leadership of the Serbian republic?

[Bulatovic] Of course, we are best friends. We have spent a lot of time together. I absolutely understand their realistic reservations and fears, which they justifiably presented here. However, I also took this opportunity to point out that we are also enriched by an experience of war in which we de facto did not take part and by a political compromise on Prevlaka, which cost us dearly, but was something that could be called the price of peace that must be paid to create the space for further political talks. I am encouraged by our talks and meetings, and I know that we will cooperate very well in the future, much better than so far.

[Jevdjovic] Thank you, Mr. Bulatovic.

Vojvodina

Figures Show Increase in Unemployment

LD3004085493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0014 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Summary] Novi Sad, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The number of unemployed people in Vojvodina went up by 20,000 over the past 12 months. The number of people seeking work is 188,000, including 70,000 young people looking for work for the first time.

The number of people employed in Vojvodina is 598,620, including 160,000 people who are on compulsory paid leave. Ten percent of the people employed are working for private companies.

S-Komerc Depositors Attempt To Salvage Savings

93BA0903F Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Apr 93 p 10

[Article by S. Zivkovic: "There Is No Cash, Nor Will There Be"]

[Text] Novi Sad, 1 Apr—The savings banks of the Novi Sad holding company S-Komerc are still being besieged by thousands of savings depositors hoping to save whatever still can be saved of their deposits. Although Vladimir Siska, the company's director, has promised that savings depositors will be reimbursed somehow because of the lateness in payment, it is obvious that many people no longer believe any promises and are running out of patience.

Mr. Siska was away today, but in his absence no one was authorized to issue statements on behalf of the company. However, it was not difficult to ascertain the real state of affairs on the spot—in the savings banks themselves. Everywhere we got the same answer to the question of whether the savings depositors are being paid cash, that is, whether they can expect it in any foreseeable future: "There is no cash, nor will there be any."

What in this case is left for the savings depositors to do?

First of all, there is some good news in the fact that savings banks are now consenting to transfer to giro accounts the amounts of money come due, except that they warn that it takes as long as two weeks to make the transfer. So anyone who wants, let him go ahead. The second possibility is for savings depositors to purchase for the corresponding amount various products in this company's network of stores. S. Komerc has about 40 stores, some 20 of them in Novi Sad.

However, depending on the savings bank in which the money was deposited, the procedure for taking advantage of this second possibility differs and is not simple at all. After all, in some places letters of guarantee can be obtained after a little wait and then used to buy goods, but there are savings banks, for instance, in Modena Street in Novi Sad, where you first must wait in line for a number, and then on the basis of the number schedule the issuance of the letter of guarantee, and that comes only after 15 April, because, we were told, "everything is filled" until then.

To be sure, many of those who have decided to buy goods say that they are more expensive in S-Komerc stores than in other stores, but Director Siska publicly denied this a few days ago. It is not easy to ascertain the truth at a time when inflation is running at least 7-8 percent per day. To be sure, there are also those who in spite of everything console themselves by saying: "Well, this is not so bad, what would have happened if I had gone to Jezda...."

Simultaneously with the events in the savings banks and in front of them, it seems that another equally exciting part of the drama being experienced by S-Komerc is happening among employees within the company itself (there are about 2,500 of them), far from the eyes of the public. To be sure, a kind of purge has been announced by Mr. Siska himself, when he told newsmen "that many key people in the company have abused the confidence placed in them." We have learned that one of those dismissed is actually the person who headed savings operations in the company, and the main reason is that during the first two months of this year, because interest was computed erroneously, savings depositors were unjustifiably paid between 14 and 17 billion dinars.

So, while many people have been getting more than they were entitled to, now there are still more who cannot get sums which have been pretty much devalued. It is not just the example of S-Komerc that these days has reminded the people of the saying "Whatever is beautiful is short-lived."